The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

amburg, 15 May 1983
nty-second year - No. 1084 - By air

Major Bonn policy aim to reduce East-West tension

ducing East-West tension is one of the main aims of Bonn's foreign policy, Chancel- Kohl told the Bundestag in a major policy speech. He understood the security needs ll nations including the Soviet Union but said that nothing justified "the overarma- nt" of the Soviet Union. He did not mention the East Berlin cancellation of the Ho- ker visit to Bonn, and did not respond to CSU calls for a tougher line against East lin. He confirmed the principle of a single German citizenship. Bonn policy would tinue to be based on the Eastern Treaties. Top priority domestically was the battle inst inflation. He announced that the social security system would be overhauled that there would be tax changes to encourage investment. He wants tougher measu- to protect the environment. Chancellor Kohl called for a general "moral renewal" said that the coalition believed in old fashioned values.

he most striking thing about Chancellor Helmut Kohl's policy speech s its confidence.

he repeated calls for united efforts tackling existing problems and the posed, self-confident elucidation of new government's intentions pro- ed a welcome alternative to the od of catastrophe spreading within a ority of the population.

he remark made towards the end of declaration that "the gateway to the ure stands open" was greeted with ls of laughter from the opposition.

certainly was a naive-sounding re- k in view of the varied problems ng the Federal Republic.

Yet Kohl wasn't just out to inspire the confidence of the population in general or the business world in particular.

It's part of his nature to be confident and see the silver lining behind dark clouds.

Never would he be heard uttering the saying commonly used by Konrad Adenauer that "the situation has never been so serious".

For Kohl, there's still hope even in the most difficult situation.

Who knows — perhaps he is in this respect just the kind of Chancellor the West Germans have been looking for after the years of depressed feelings.

There are certain problems in politics which can only then be really dealt with successfully if they are tackled with a certain amount of naive zest and a firm belief that they can be solved.

In this respect, Kohl has greater similarity to Ludwig Erhard than to Konrad Adenauer, and the reaction of the parties in government to Kohl's speech was marked by an almost relieved gratitude for the promises made by the Chancellor of a better future.

No-one can say after hearing the declaration whether these promises will be realised.

Kohl did not go into the specific details of such promises; some parts of his speech sounded as if he'd deleted those sections which could have been interpreted as being actual promises and perhaps held against him at a later date.

He had more to say on putting the state of public finances back on to its feet.

This is an area where there are likely to be political difficulties. But the government's solid parliamentary majority means it should be able to take them head on.

Although taxation and similar reliefs were promised for business, these were postponed until a later date with reference to the high level of state indebtedness.

This would indicate that the stimulating momentum Kohl and his government are hoping to provide for business activities will take a while to emerge.

There is no reproach in the confirmation of the fact that the government declaration had nothing really new to say about the most serious problem today, growing unemployment.

Kohl's remarks on this point may well provide some encouragement for

Continued on page 3

IN THIS ISSUE

What the nation can expect... Chancellor Kohl during his Bundestag policy speech. (Photo: dpa)

Kohl's priority economic, social issues

hancellor Kohl did not allow his government policy declaration to ome merely a list of things he wants o.

ost of his colleagues should be sed with the emphasis he placed on ral issues. Economic and social is- received the main attention.

he Chancellor emphasised in this ect that the government is committ- o less involvement and to the en- agement of individual responsibili- solidarity and greater social free- ms.

n line with this, he referred to the re- al of the social market economy. He ussed how the government could the better of the economic crisis and itted that there was a long way to

e made no reference to a the recent putes within the coalition. When he poke about the reasons for the disputes — that is the conflict in the relationship between the two German states — he phrased his words in such a way that support was drawn from all parts of the coalition.

Limited continuity is the operative expression here. He said that agreements with East Berlin would be developed further but that there must be a balance of give and take.

In referring to the East Bloc, Chancellor Kohl tended to use the phrase "reduction in tension" rather than detente.

The Opposition leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, when it was his turn to speak, was self assured. His style, his factual approach, his cleverly developed arguments and his apparently unreserved acceptance of his role as leader of the Opposition won him admiration and applause.

However Kohl and Vogel have different ideas about what Germany should be like. Vogel's pessimism in the face of what he sees as difficulties and fears and even catastrophies were in contrast to Kohl's get-up-and-go mood of optimism.

Vogel feels that Kohl's way of dealing with the problems at hand, reverting to the means used in the past, is wrong.

Nevertheless the Bundestag saw a competent debate. It was carried out with the kind of respect for the opponent that Helmut Schmidt so often failed to give.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 May 1983)

Speech makes it a real family affair

Helmut Kohl's second government policy speech had no poisonous sting, neither on domestic nor foreign policy.

This does not, however, mean that there was no substance in what he said.

The Chancellor certainly marked out a framework for the much promised "change".

The government will be making full use of market economy means to set about solving problems, whether in the fields of economic, financial or social policies.

Market-economy here stands for rewarding achievement and restricting state assistance and intervention.

The government doesn't want to see this misinterpreted as the inevitable result of financial bottlenecks.

There is a principle of a regulating policy behind this approach.

It's all part of what Helmut Kohl ambitiously refers to as the spiritual renewal.

This consists among other things of the conviction that the society is as healthy as the sum of its smallest cells, i. e. its families.

Kohl is hoping that the family as an institution will provide added momentum for the humanisation of industrial society.

In his opinion there is no alternative to the family and yet alternatives within it.

The status of the woman and mother should receive greater respect. Kohl also promised more assistance in matters relating to taxation and insurance.

And yet all this is nothing new, at most confirmation of what Kohl has already said since he was first elected

Continued on page 3

THE BALANCE OF POWER

French dilemma underlined in new defence plan

French foreign policy is on the horns of a dilemma: Paris would like to play the part of an independent opposite number to Moscow. So it keeps aloof from Atlantic integration, demonstrates independence and maintains an expensive nuclear deterrent.

But France has realised for years that were it not for the protection of the Atlantic alliance and for its close ties with America and the Federal Republic of Germany it would be in danger and its claims to independence would seem even more unrealistic.

In a nutshell, were it not for the US nuclear shield over Western Europe, no matter how thin it might have grown in nuclear terms, no French envoy could possibly sit at the same table as the great powers with any claim to equal status.

The five-year defence plan just approved by the French Cabinet underlines the dilemma. The foremost target of defence planning for 1984—88 is further reinforcement of France's nuclear *force de frappe*.

A sixth and seventh strategic nuclear submarine are to be bought and new missiles with the macabre name of Hades are to be commissioned.

Yet modernisation of conventional armour, especially tanks and anti-tank weapons, it to be postponed, while the number of French servicemen is to be cut by 35,000.

This decision was reached regardless of the express advice of the French government's military advisers. The army C-in-C even resigned in March over the issue.

It certainly seems to contradict what the French Foreign Minister told the National Assembly last July when he drew their attention urgently and in detail to the danger of a conventional imbalance in Europe.

Yet the five-year plan is nonetheless in keeping with the French national interest, while at the time running counter to that of Western Europe, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

A basic conviction shared by Western specialists on security policy and military strategy is that reliance on nuclear weapons must be reduced.

The crisis in credibility of Western deterrent strategy centres very much on this point, especially with young people.

All politicians are well aware that most people would first like to see a drastic negotiated reduction in the number of nuclear weapons. Most, including the French, would agree.

But M. Mitterrand *himself* has announced that France will only be taking part in nuclear disarmament talks once the superpowers have reduced the edge they enjoy over France.

There could hardly be a less likely prospect. Paris is likelier to build even more nuclear weapons.

In his speech to the Bonn Bundestag last January M. Mitterrand explained in detail why he was keen on close Franco-German cooperation in the security and military sectors.

But many listeners overheard his comment that the two countries' situations were different for historical reasons and that history had not been written by him or by France alone.

That can only have meant that the present situation and the imbalance between France and the Federal Republic was the consequence of a war begun by Germany and won, or partly won, by France.

Thus French troops in Berlin are both a symbol of the past and a pledge for a better future.

But historically significan[t] German reconciliation, the [w]... Konrad Adenauer and Ch[arles de] Gaulle, would have feet of cl[ay if it had] not been further developed i[nto a com]mon Western European policy.

That can hardly be accomp[lished by] means of the philosophy that B[onn and] Washington are to ensure by [con]ventional weaponry that Fran[ce has the] opportunity of giving nuclear [weapons] priority.

Despite the French Presiden[t's assu]rances to the contrary, Bonn [was not] briefed in advance about the [defence] plan and not even told for sure [whether] French forces were to be w[ithdrawn] from Germany.

France and Germany ne[ed each] other, and both need the Unite[d States,] but they can only hope to becom[e equal] partners of Washington and [...] once they have set aside egoism, [includ]ing nuclear egoism, in favour [of Wes]tern European integration.

Walther S[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, ...)

Mr Andropov goes back to wo[rk] to face the horrible truth

When Mr Andropov returns to his desk in the Kremlin after the May holidays (May Day and VE Day) he will be confronted with a view of the world altogether different from the official version.

May Day parades, with pink paper flowers and organised processions of factory workers in the capital cities of Soviet republics painted a picture of everything being for the best in the best of all possible socialist worlds.

The unpleasant truth he faces is less a matter of the continued dissatisfaction and anti-government demonstrations in Poland, which amount, among other things, to a rejection of the Soviet Union.

It is that Moscow ties with the West have deteriorated to such an extent since Mr Andropov took over that Soviet prestige in the Third and Fourth World has suffered as a result.

In resurrecting the classic policy of containment the United States has undeniably contributed toward the current isolation of the Soviet Union.

America's contribution has doubtless been decisive, but the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet policy pursued by President Reagan is more than a mere flight of fashion.

It is an expression of mistrust of the USSR, its ideology and its aims in world affairs that is shared by the US public, and this mistrust has intensified in Western Europe and the Far East too.

The West has turned its back on Moscow. Angrily and without the slightest sign of diplomatic courtesy the Soviet press and Soviet officials are busy taking countries and governments to task that used to be regarded as people one could talk with, such as the British, Japanese, French and Italians.

Moscow against all and al[l against] Moscow is a catchphrase th[at could] arguably be used to describe th[e present] position.

Other countries have turn[ed their] backs on Moscow not merely [because] of the climate of opinion in th[e West. It] is also the result of a Sovi[et foreign] policy that has relied for the m[ost part] on constant dropping wea[ring away] stone.

The inundation of disarma[ment pro]posals by Moscow and monoto[nous de]clarations of Soviet willingness [to conti]nue the policy of detente forfe[it cre]dibility when Soviet policy s[o often] contradicts to what is proclaim[ed.]

Moscow has belied its propa[ganda by] means of propaganda in Swi[tzerland,] espionage in France, military [intimida]tion in Scandinavia (the s[ubmarine] sightings) and dog-in-a-mang[er great] power policies as in respect o[f territo]rial claims on Japan.

The West is sick and tired o[f Soviet] blandishments and no longer b[elieves a] word of them.

Massive accusations levelled [at the] Reagan administration, which i[s blam]ed for the latest ice age in East-[West re]lations by Moscow, show only [that the] Russians are incapable of a sel[f-critical] appraisal of their ties with the W[est.]

Moscow really believes that [Western] policy and not its own has p[roduced] the present state of affairs.

Peter S[...]

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, ...)

Soviet warheads offer a step in the right direction

The Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, told Herr Honecker in Moscow that the Soviet Union was willing to negotiate a missile balance in Europe in terms of how many warheads each side has.

The East German leader promptly welcomed this new peace bid. But all that was new about it was that it was the first time it had been made by Mr Andropov himself.

The West has always called for a turning point in the terms of reference on which nuclear combat strength is based, and Mr Andropov was not the first to take up the idea of basing comparisons on the number of warheads deployed.

On 24 February the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Gromyko, first made the proposal, using virtually the same words as Mr Andropov was later to choose.

At a 2 April press conference Mr Gromyko made the suggestion out to be nothing less than a bright idea of his own.

It will have been no coincidence that he suddenly realised the need for a balance of warheads. A day earlier the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Ustinov, insisted in a public statement on any balance being struck in terms of the number of missiles deployed by each side.

This was a criterion of balance that had always been unacceptable to the West, and the Soviet Defence Ministry has always been strictly opposed to any more balanced yardstick.

The West's objection is that the Kremlin has more than one warhead per missile, thereby upsetting any balance in terms of missile numbers.

Mr Gromyko's proposal, which has now been taken up by Mr Andropov, throws an interesting light on the Soviet Foreign Minister's gain in stature as an Andropov man in the politbureau.

This stature was reflected some weeks ago when Mr Gromyko was promoted to First Deputy Prime Minister.

The warhead criterion has, at all events, now been endorsed by the Soviet leader, and that is a step forward, even though it may not mean Moscow will succeed in changing its spots in Geneva.

The Kremlin still insists on British and French medium-range missiles being included in the equation, so agreement need not be reached.

Warhead parity constitutes a concession by the Kremlin over British and French missiles. The Soviet missiles having only half the destructive power.

The three warheads of the Soviet SS-20 missiles pack less nuclear punch on average, than the payloads on board Anglo-French missiles.

By the terms proposed by Mr Gromyko and Mr Andropov the Euromissile balance would be as follows: Britain and France have 290 warheads installed in 162 missiles based in Europe. The Soviet Union would retain 290 warheads installed in 97 SS-20s.

Moscow would have to scrap at least 125 missiles or at least withdraw them well behind the Urals.

These figures do not take into account American, British, French and Russian nuclear bombers, for which the Soviet Union feels a balance ought also to be negotiated.

The Soviet Union continues to ignore the overall context of the conventional superiority of Warsaw Pact forces in the European balance of power.

Wilfried Schäfer

(Rheinische Post, 5 May 1983)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: ... Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English ... sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution ... Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schöne ... Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No. 14 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich ... Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE ... published in cooperation with the editorial ... leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of ... They are complete translations of the original ... no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper ... asterisks, above your address.

WORLD AFFAIRS

Spanish premier looks for help in bid to join EEC

[S]pain's Socialist Prime Minister, Fe[li]pe Gonzalez, hopes to get Bonn's [hel]p for his country's bid to join the [EE]C.

[Se]nor Gonzalez visited Bonn this [mon]th, his first foreign visit since he [cam]e to power at the end of last year.

[H]e told Chancellor Kohl bluntly that [Spa]in was unlikely to give full support [to N]ato until its bid to join the EEC [had] been settled.

[Th]is rather unsubtle hint was, how[ever,] intended for consumption elsew[here] in the Common Market.

[Se]nor Gonzalez' visit came, fittingly, [at a] time when the Federal Republic of [Ger]many is in the chair at the European [Com]munity. This added importance, although only superficially, to Herr Kohl's assurance that Spain could rely on German support in its EEC membership bid.

Germany's turn in the chair ends with the Stuttgart Common Market summit in June. By then neither complex negotiations on finances nor tough customs problems are likely to have been solved.

The Germans have long realised that Spain can hardly be expected to show unbounden commitment to Nato until it derives full benefit from membership of the European Community.

Both Socialist-run France and Tory-run Britain are dragging their feet on this issue. They seem to be keen on European political and economic integration only as long as it costs them nothing.

Similar considerations are to blame for the wait-and-see attitude adopted by Italy and Greece. Neither relish the prospect of Spanish competition in the citrus fruit and wine trades.

So neither are unduly keen to see Spain and Portugal as new members, especially as offset payments seem sure to be less generous in a 12-member EEC.

Spain has great hopes of Germany's chairmanship of the EEC Council of Ministers, especially as after the Stuttgart summit there can be no ruling out an intermission on accession talks for Spain and Portugal even in Bonn.

The next country to chair the Council of Ministers will be Greece, which is in no hurry to see Spain in the EEC.

An additional drawback for Senor Gonzalez is that Spain's membership bid has been coupled with Portugal's.

Portugal's economic problems are even graver than Spain's, and despite Portuguese Socialist Mario Soarez' victory at the polls he seems sure to have difficulty in forming a government.

Peter Matthes

(Kieler Nachrichten, 4 May 1983)

Policy aims

Continued from page 1

[ad]opting new lines of approach, such as [pa]rt-time employment.

However, just like the economic ex[per]ts and the unions, the government [has] no brilliant ideas for solving this [pro]blem.

[T]he assertion that increased capital [for]mation also leads to the creation of [ne]w jobs is, at least up to now, unpro[ven].

[T]he emphasis of the allegiance to the [Al]liance and the will of the government [to b]ring about European unity belongs [to pa]rt of a necessary ritual as does the [rea]ding of declarations of friendship to [ind]ividual allies, such as the USA and [Fr]ance.

On the other hand, the comments [ma]de by Kohl on the Soviet Union and [the] GDR did contain a few changes in [nua]nces.

[H]is tone was a shade more demand[ing] and the currying of favour which [ha]d surrounded Willy Brandt while [Cha]ncellor was gone.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 May 1983)

Family affair

Continued from page 1

[Chan]cellor and of legislation passed [...].

[Th]e important political difference [this] time, however, was that Kohl is backed by the strength of an elec[toral] mandate.

[Sin]ce his magnificent election victo[ry, h]owever, Kohl has begun to feel the [...]s and burdens of a coalition go[vern]ment, and things came to a head [in the] dramatic freuding between the [CSU] and the FDP on the course to be [taken] in the *Deutschlandpolitik*.

[M]any thought that this might over[sha]dow the government policy state[ment]. But it didn't. If anything, Kohl's [spee]ch was a pleasant surprise.

[Th]e statements made on allegiance to [the] USA and to the alliance were not [mar]ked by the sometimes unbearable [emo]tionalism which was characteristic [of K]ohl's speeches while he was in Op[posi]tion.

[H]e played it straight when talking [abo]ut the Soviet Union and the GDR.

[T]he emphasis of the aims and at the [sam]e time limitations to German *Ostpolitik* as defined in existing agreements and by a decision by the Federal Constitutional Court is not likely to hurt anyone's feelings.

They are part of the realities existing at the time of the Brandt and Schmidt governments.

The Chancellor was more insistent about the flexibility the Soviet Union should show at the Geneva talks. He made an offer of cooperation and regular dialogue.

Perhaps Kohl himself would not have gone this far had it not been for the influence of the FDP.

There are certainly no signs of a change in foreign policies or in the *Deutschlandpolitik* and this deserves particular praise.

The Chancellor's words will soon have to stand the test of actual political action: at the European summit to be in Stuttgart in June; at the world economic summit in Williamsburg at the end of May; during the Chancellor's visit to Moscow in July, not forgetting the pressures of overall economic developments and the effect on the employment situation.

Hans Schmitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 May 1983)



Lots to talk about ... Spain's Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Madrid seeks a loose alliance with Latin American nations

Top-ranking politicians and intellectuals from Spain, Portugal and 19 Latin American countries have met in Madrid under the heading "Ibero-America: A Gathering in Democracy."

The meeting formed part of an ambitious plan by Spain's Socialist Premier Felipe Gonzalez that may have been prompted by the Socialist International but is very much in keeping with historic precedents.

What he has in mind is the political *activation of Ibero-America* in the form of a loose alliance along the lines of the Anglo-Saxon world.

While visiting Bonn Senor Gonzalez sais in a interview with *Die Welt* that the Ibero-American world, and that included Spain and Portugal, had more in common that its Anglo-Saxon counterpart.

Yet in the concert of world affairs its views held no weight at all when the time came to reach decisions. The aim must be to arrive at neutral and non-aligned status for Latin America.

An example of the influence envisaged was the Contadora conference of Foreign Ministers from Panama, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia.

They conferred in a bid to prevent Central America from being transformed into the scene of an international political dispute along the lines of Vietnam.

The bid was triggered by Soviet attempts to extent the communist satellite system to Central America that logically led to the US response en El Salvador and Honduras.

The United States is acting in self-defence and what it sees as its national interest. It will continue to have to do so for as long as no-one takes the regional initiative in Latin America itself.

Contadora marked the beginning of such a bid. Together with other countries the four founder-members of what is planned as an informal organisation want to launch a bloc that will consolidate and maintain the independance of the region.

Spain played a substantial part in arranging for the conference, both the idea and its implementation, by making its diplomatic facilities in the countries concerned available to supervise preparations.

That was exactly what King Juan Carlos of Spain had in mind when, in Cartagena de las Indias, Colombia, in 1976, he called for Spain and the Ibero-American states to jointly counteract the "reality of external threat and aggression."

Conflicts, he said, must be resolved jointly. That naturally doesn't mean that the new political initiative can forestall each and every revolution or coup, whether left- or right-wing.

The crucial yardstick remains the abuse of a member-country by a foreign power and satellite status as a possible outcome of violent change.

Spain would prefer not to play simply the role of an intermediary in this bid.

That would amount to an admission that it is merely an outsider.

Spain would like to be of both Europe and America, closely linked by emotional and blood ties with the Ibero-American countries. It sees them as sister-countries and has long ceased to regard itself as the mothercountry.

But it will owe any weight it carries in an Ibero-American context to its membership of the North Atlantic pact, which was one of the issues Señor Gonzales discussed in Bonn.

The Atlantic dimension of the Ibero-American concept can be established in close cooperational between Portugal, Angola and Brazil.

Statesmen in countries along the Atlantic coastline of South America have been expecting Nato's brief to be extended to the South Atlantic ever since the Red Fleet has moved in an established logistical bases in Luanda and the Cape Verde Islands.

As this has failed to happen they set sup some years ago a system of their own.

On a bilateral basis the navies of Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina operate alongside US and other Nato naval units, including German frigates and submarines.

This Atlantic concept was admittedly hard hit by the Falkslands war, but Spain could have a valuable contribution to its restoration to make.

Military security, referred by the Spanish Foreign Minister as the first dimension of politics, is a prerequisite of neutrality and non-alignment and of political and cultural autonomy.

Rolf Görtz

(Die Welt, 4 May 1983)

■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Laying blame for Honecker's cancelled visit: air thick with accusations

Accusations are flying thick and fast in Bonn: just whose fault is it exactly that Honecker's visit to the Federal Republic has been called off?

The choices (in barrier position) are: Honecker himself, the hawks in the GDR politburo, the Soviet Union, the hawks in the CDU/CSU, the West German press, Franz Josef Strauss, the Warsaw Pact and (only an outsider) Chancellor Kohl.

Honecker's decision to remain in East Berlin has certainly achieved some things: relations between the German states have hit a low point and tension over *Deutschlandpolitik* between the various factions in Bonn has increased.

Chancellor Kohl found out about the decision during his visit to Italy. His deputy, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, heard about it in the news.

Jürgen Möllemann, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, and Berndt von Staden, a State Secretary, found out in the morning newspapers.

The Foreign Office could only shake its head at the apparent lack of communication between itself and the Federal Chancellery.

Explanations differ

Explanations about the decision itself differ depending on who you talk to, foreign policy politicians or intra-German affairs politicians.

The former are used to thinking in more global terms. They see the more important conflicts between the superpowers as the real reasons for Honecker's action a plausible explanation.

The Soviet Union can certainly have no interest in seeing Honecker visit the Federal Republic in autumn, when Bonn and its Allies will be setting up nuclear medium-range missiles aimed at the Eastern bloc.

If this interpretation is correct, it would mean that the efforts by both German governments to keep the East-West conflict out of German-German relations has failed.

Other politicians have more basic explanations to offer. Egon Bahr, for example, points out the aggravation of the political mood of hysteria, with Franz Josef Strauss doing most of the aggravating.

Möllemann, who usually doesn't restrain himself too much when criticising Strauss, regards the "nonsense in Munich" as a merely "regional disruptive action".

This alone cannot have been the main reason, as the Federal government itself had behaved fairly.

Bahr does not agree. Although Kohl could not be accused of bad intent — he had not stated his position "as clearly as possible".

Unlike Kohl, who views Honecker's reaction as "incomprehensible", Bahr finds it "understandable" albeit regrettable and inappropriate.

He refers to the first visit by the GDR's Prime Minister, Willi Stoph, in Kassel, "where vast numbers of police were required to keep the demonstrations under control".

In view of the press commentaries, such as *Die Welt*, which referred to Honecker's intended visit as undesirable, Honecker was not wrong to expect similar nasty reactions.

In the sparse words of Chancellor Kohl's press spokesman Diether Stolze, the Chancellor regards the matter of the further fate of an invitation to Honecker as "closed".

Whether the invitation still exists or has been dropped: "the matter is closed".

Whether Kohl will try to resume contact by ringing up the East German leader, "the matter is closed".

Stolze only had this to say: when Chancellor Kohl rang up Erich Honecker after the first border "incident" and told Honecker that as a sign of protest he would refuse to receive his negotiator, Günther Mittag, Honecker made no mention at all of his planned visit.

No cover up

FDP politicians have welcomed the fact that even leading CSU politicians in parliament are not trying to cover up the strong language and disruptive action from Munich.

However, they disturbing signs recently, in particular from the chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, Alfred Dregger, that a turnabout in the *Deutschlandpolitik* is in the air.

Are we approaching a general "Ice Age", as one journalist tried to find out from the government spokesman?

Or are we about to "fall back into the Cold War", a fear expressed by Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel?

At least the terminology used would indicate a return to the language of years gone by.

The deputy chairman of the FDP's parliamentary party, Cronenberg, for example, has again spoken of the "Iron Curtain".

Gerd Rauhaus

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 30 April 1983)

Checkpoint deaths row not main reason for change of mind

The deaths at GDR checkpoints with the Federal Republic are not the main reason for Erich Honecker, the East German leader, calling off his visit to Bonn.

The incidents and the reaction to them helped cool the climate between the two German states, but there was already a freeze in the making.

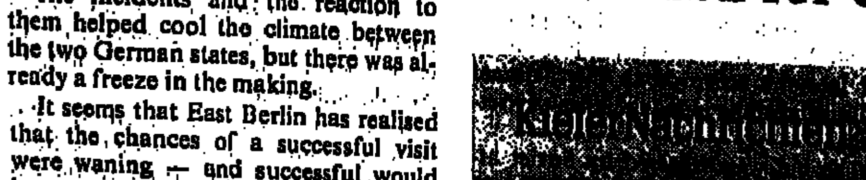
It seems that East Berlin has realised that the chances of a successful visit were waning — and successful would have meant influencing Bonn policy on disarmament.

It is an issue that has been for some time causing tension between East and West. When a German-German meeting is held, vitally important matters are discussed.

For Kohl, improving the situation for people in the whole of Germany is a major aim.

For Honecker, it is disarmament. He had the intention, and probably the instructions, to persuade Chancellor Kohl to modify his clear-cut either-or policy: success in Geneva or missiles in Europe.

But now East Berlin and Moscow probably realise that Bonn will not be persuaded to change its mind. Perhaps they also realise that they have over estimated the influence of the peace marchers.



The logical conclusion: call off the visit.

The decision came suddenly and it surprised Bonn. Bonn's reaction left no doubt that both government and opposition do not want to place even greater strains on the relationship between the two states.

Chancellor Kohl said the increased tension was not Bonn's fault. East Germany said it was.

Kohl said the cancellation did not mean that the East Berlin leadership had been relieved of the obligation to try and improve relations. He said Bonn's aim remained to improve the situation for Germans in both states.

It was left to the Opposition leader in Bonn, Hans-Jochen Vogel, to utter the harsh words. He said he regretted Honecker's decision. It was a "bitter setback in German-German relations."

But East Berlin should ask itself whether it might not be over reacting.

One can only hope that this welcome agreement between the Chancellor and the SPD leader will be reflected in relations between government and the Opposition.

In Munich, the Bavarian CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss, has only been helping to increase the tension with his outbursts; Kohl and Vogel probably have similar opinions about Strauss' approach.

The "reason" given by Honecker for his decision, that various press commentaries had worsened relations, was recognised by the Chancellor as a cheap pretext.

Kohl dryly said that it is generally known that freedom of the press exists in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Chancellor Kohl knows only too well that the East German leader is aware of the difference between the tightly controlled political commentaries in East Germany and the situation in the West.

Axel Ostrowski

(Kieler Nachrichten, 30 April 1983)

East Berli[n] leaders play it saf[e]

SüddeutscheZeitu[ng]

The decision by the East Be[...] er Erich Honecker to can[...] posed visit to the Federal Re[...] dramatic but it is not a catastr[...]

Yet the cancellation, even th[...] visit was not 100 per cent cer[...] sound a warning which should [...] seriously.

The government in Bonn m[...] stand solidly behind its home [...] Unanimity is needed.

The issue has thrown up fun[...] differences between the CDU [...] CSU. Chancellor Kohl said He[...] step was incomprehensible. A[...] said it was logical in view of th[...] brouhaha over GDR checkpoi[...]

Franz Josef Strauss, chief of [...] and his party have done their [...] talk and act in such a way th[...] ker's decision was almost c[...] have been taken. Talk of mu[...] border probably touched a ra[...] the GDR.

But what happened at th[...] checkpoints and the subseque[...] the Federal Republic for full [...] tions were alone not the ma[...] Honecker's decision.

The CSU's aggressive retor[...] a way of expressing its dis[...] with the CDU over *Deutschl*[...]

The probability is that Koh[...] ly more reasonable policies [...] through and consistency will [...] tained.

But the East Berlin leaders [...] cided to play it safe. That [...] ecker will only come when i[...] that the advantages will be gre[...] any risk of running into uncer[...] policy in Bonn.

This latest move has made [...] clear: Bonn is in even less of a [...] than East Germany to subject [...] German relationship to sharp [...] since the Federal Republic w[...] nuation: it wants special relati[...] keep on developing.

These are aims which the W[...] man government has great di[...] pursuing against the normal [...] historical developments.

Honecker's move certainly [...] taken without consultation w[...] cow.

Whether he only received th[...] was in fact urged in any way [...] this move is not known.

In this respect, *Ostpolitik* w[...] central issue during the week [...] ing Kohl visit to Moscow in July[...]

Even if the exact motives be[...] necker's decision cannot be [...] this does not mean that the can[...] of the visit represents a set[...] Chancellor Kohl's efforts for [...] ty.

Nobody seems to remember th[...] mut Schmidt, when he was ch[...] also initially postponed his vi[...] German-German meeting in Be[...]

Schmidt called off his visit [...] wrong time, and then held the [...] at the wrong time.

Who knows whether Erich Ho[...] might not in the end do the same[...]

Robert L[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, [...])

■ THE WORKFORCE

Trade union appeal fades in a changing society

[F]ewer and fewer working people feel duty-bound to start May Day by [g]oing to a trade union labour demon[st]ration.

The union's prestige was badly hit by [a]llegations of financial impropriety in [c]onnection with Neue Heimat, the trade [u]nion-owned housing corporation.

Many union members will have felt [th]at was yet another reason for making [a]n outing into the country rather than [pa]rading with the Red Flag in the name [of] solidarity.

Yet there was no lack of topics that [wa]rranted commitment this year. It was [th]e 50th anniversary of the abolition of [th]e trade unions by the Nazis.

It was they who made attendance at [Ma]y Day parades compulsory while [sma]shing up working-class organisa[tio]ns and imprisoning or murdering [the]ir representatives.

After the war the unions learnt the [les]son of the infighting and disputes [tha]t made it so easy for the Third Reich [to] crush the trade union movement.

They reorganised as single industrial [un]ions, with no party-political bias, and [em]erged as a powerful counterweight to [the]ir erstwhile arch-enemy, capital.

As the economy regained momentum [the]ir role changed to that of social part[ne]rs, of co-custodians of prosperity and [gu]arantors of greater justice and equali[ty]. The unions today are recognised or[ga]nisations with political influence and [an] undisputed stabilising function in [th]e democratic system.

Many of their wage and social de[ma]nds have already been met, a process [fa]cilitated by the post-war economic [gro]wing know in German as the *Wirt[sc]haftswunder*, or economic miracle.

Decades of economic growth have [m]ade it possible to make welfare provi[si]ons for virtually all sectors of society, [an]d wages and social security in Germany are among the highest in the industrialised West.

But since the worldwide recession has brought this idyll to an abrupt end and made economy the order of the day the trade unions have found it hard to adapt to their new role.

The government has no cash to spare and unemployment is on the increase, leaving little leeway for sharing the proceeds along traditional lines.

What is more, working people have come to see themselves differently. Affluence has made them feel middle-class. They are less susceptible to the pathos of social criticism and charler of large organisations.

What white- and blue-collar workers today expect of the trade unions is first and foremost protection from loss of jobs and incomes.

Key classic trade union demands such as the call for equal representations on boards of directors are barely endorsed even by members.

So union officials face a rank and file that is easy-going and little inclined to aggression. Union members are also allergic to skeletons in the trade unions' cupboard, such as the Neue Heimat scandal.

The repercussions of this creeping alienation are particularly keenly felt by honorary shopfloor union officials, the men and women who are the link between the rank and file and full-time officials.

They are thus less enthusiastic about union work, while critical youngsters who ought to be the pepper and spice of the trade unions are likewise looking elsewhere.

The union machinery as they see it is too established, too cumbersome and too big. Small is beautiful is a slogan that has not passed the union movement by.

Progressive young people are tending to give preference to a principle that is more conservative, with a liberal tinge: the idea of self-help in small and manageable groups without hierarchical structures and without governing bodies threatened by stultification.

Self-realisation is today's slogan, and young people tend to see it as doing their own thing for themselves and others of similar persuasions, but also for the socially disadvantaged.

Self-help groups do away with what the young find so distasteful about established organisations. They rely on spontaneity and emotion rather than rules and a functional approach.

The contrast can be demonstrated in exemplary fashion with reference to relations between the trade unions and the Greens.

For a trade unionist committed to discipline and solidarity the Green MPs in Bonn, with their principle of rotation, are bound to appear chaotic.

Conversely, supporters of the alternative movement can hardly fail to view the 'functioning functionary' as a stooge of the power set-up.

If the unions are to enlist the support of young activists for their cause they must show greater awareness of what is going on among the youthful rank and file.

Not every apprentice who votes for the Greens at age 18 is a traitor to the working-class cause.

The DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, has come to realise that environmental protection and jobs are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

But if the unions are to regain credibility amongst the young they will have to be more open, more flexible and more imaginative (and imaginative in their wage demands too).

Reactivation of small-scale self-help groups such as the cooperatives were in their early days might be one such opportunity.

Leisure activities and educational opportunities are a major challenge for the unions to take up at a time when public money is less and less readily available.

The struggle against unemployment may enjoy priority but these other issues ought not to be forgotten. If the point were taken, May Day meetings might one day regain their erstwhile attraction.

Suse Weidenbach

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 April 1983)

Moderation the tone of May Day speeches

Franz Steinkühler, the firebrand Stuttgart regional secretary of IG Metall, the iron and steel workers' union, was the odd man out at this year's May Day demonstrations.

He sounded a shrill note, whereas the general impression at May Day meetings was one of moderation, doubtless due in part to record unemployment.

The generally moderate line of argument proves that the unions have long come to appreciate economic exigencies and to take them into account.

One such realisation is the fact that jobs are going to be a scarce commodity for some time.

That is probably why politicians have decided to take up the trade union proposal for a shorter working week and similar ideas.

It may also be why everyone is so keen to get to grips with unemployment as a problem with social, economic and moral repercussions.

May Day addresses provided and opportunity to review progress on bids to reduce the amount of time people spend at work.

The number of people whose views can be taken seriously who have come out in favour of some such measure seems steadily to have increased.

Even within the Bonn government there is probably majority support for shorter working hours, always assuming a vote ever needed taking.

Fewer and fewer union officials persist in calling for a shorter working week on full pay.

That is important because as far as the government and a probable majority in the coalition parties is concerned a shorter working week on less than full pay is the only feasible option.

The trend is definitely toward majority support in Parliament for working shorter hours as a means of fighting unemployment.

Albin Andrée

(Nordwest Zeitung, 2 May 1983)

Rich Germans just keep getting richer, discovers survey

[P]eople in the Federal Republic of Germany are among the world's [we]althiest in terms of both income and [ac]crued wealth, says a Bonn economic [an]d social research institute.

The average household is said to [ha]ve amassed wealth and property to [th]e value of roughly DM230,000, and [th]at does not include pension rights [av]eraging DM130,000.

One German in 25 is said to belong [to] a millionaire household, while over a [qu]arter of the population are members [of] households worth at least [D]M500,000.

The Bonn institute (its board chair[ma]n is CDU economic affairs expert [Kur]t Biedenkopf) entitles its report The [Mis]understood Revolution.

[It] is an attempt to analyse the finan[cial] position of private households on [the] basis of the latest figures. The last [com]parable survey was in 1970.

[B]oth Professor Biedenkopf and the [hea]d of the institute, Meinhard Miegel, [say] the findings are little short of sensa[tio]nal.

[I]n the 1950s alone the increase in per [ca]pita national income in real terms [wa]s twice what it had been between [18]00 and 1950.

Long-term historical comparison re[vea]ls, however, that economic growth [i]n the 1950s and 1960s was exceptio[nal] and cannot be expected to continue [in]definitely.

[I]n the foreseeable future, the authors [cla]im, remarkable increases in absolute terms may still occur, but in relative terms they will be much more modest than in the post-war boom period.

"Explosive increases in wealth and incomes will not recur in the foreseeable future," they forecast.

A further conclusion reached is that in comparison with many comparable countries, income and wealth trends of private households continued to progress well in the 1970s.

The clear winners were the households of civil servants, white-collar workers, pensioners. The relative losers were farmers, the self-employed and blue-collar workers.

In terms of the number of people per household "larger families with children have tended to lose ground in the income and wealth stakes, whereas smaller households have either gained substantially at the larger households' expense or themselves made below-average progress."

In recent years the sector of the population that is poorest off has grown even poorer in relative terms, but it has also clearly declined in number.

The number of really wealthy West Germans is also said to have declined.

Politicians, the institute says, definitely must respond to the changes in these key economic and social data, especially in view of the progressive population decline in the wake of above-average growth until the early-1970s.

Since the turn of the century the average age of the population as a whole has increased to 45, while the proportion of over-65s has trebled and that of under-18s has been halved.

This is said to mean that the social security system will need adapting to current economic and social circumstances and the requirements the population figure necessitates.

Politics, economics and society must work on the assumption that trends have changed for good in the wake of demographic and economic changes over the past few decades.

The institute will not be publishing for several months a further section of the report that goes into the political consequences it feels need drawing.

But it recommends in the section now published a change of emphysis in social security.

Someone who is unemployed, the report points out, receives most money from the state in the first few months of being out of work.

The longer he or she is unemployed, the lower the unemployment benefit gets. Since most people who are out of work usually have some money set aside, why not dispense with benefits entirely or in part for an initial period and set more aside for long-term unemployment?

Similar considerations could apply to sickness benefit.

If the current crisis is to be successfully handled, the report concludes, society will need to deal satisfactorily with prosperity-related changes in all spheres of life.

Peter J. Velte

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 28 April 1983)



■ THE ECONOMY

The government accused of saying a lot and doing little

The spring report by the German economic research institutes has not much good news for the government.

Chancellor Kohl's coalition, which took over power with the intention of changing economic and financial policies, is criticised on economic, financial and social grounds.

The government is accused of having said a lot but of having done little.

The institutes do see signs of a gradual economic recovery. But not because of the government's efforts. It is because of a more relaxed monetary policy and by the expectations that the coalition would actually do what it said.

The experts refer to this as an "advance in confidence".

The political parties have reacted to the report in line with well-worn rituals. Economic-policy spokesmen appear and speak of confirmation.

The SPD sees the clear confirmation of its fears and worries, the CDU/CSU of its diagnosis that the turning point is *indeed a thing of the present.*

The FDP regards the report as a confirmation of its own basic positions.

Even the Federal Minister of Economics, Count Otto Lambsdorff, who should really react in a more subdued way in the face of the considerable criticism levelled against him, cannot avoid the formula of confirmation.

All groups are able to quote the passages in the report best suited to their own views.

The government and the two coalition parties, for example, single out the facts that economic revival is under way and that the absolute low of this slack period has been overcome much faster than predicted by the economic research institutes half a year ago.

The opposition points out the fact that unemployment is expected to rise to 2.8 million by next spring and all too readily underlines the "confirmation" by the economic institutes that the government's course lacks clarity, consistency and thus credibility and that a lasting upward development is in no way guaranteed.

The institutes themselves must accept some the blame for the varied echoes of reactions to the report, for it offers a variety of assessments.

First, there are doubts as to whether what has been happening to the economy over the past few months can be classed as a business-cycle upswing.

There are also doubts as to whether the improvement is sufficient to turn investment activities into a motor for self-sustaining expansion.

On one hand, the prediction is made that the recovery will continue; in another section of the report there are fears that this recovery may begin to flag during the year.

Then there is conflict over the most suitable strategy. Most of the institutes ask for tax reliefs and a reduction in public spending, whereas a minority say the risk is too great and the fear is expressed that if the economy takes this consolidation path it will inevitably find itself confronted with even greater problems.

The majority of the institutes, on the other hand, supports a catalogue of demands designed to reduce state interventions, demands similar to those recommended to the government by its own advisory board of experts.

The concept put forward by the institutes may well be logical and compact in terms of economic science.

The considerations made may well be of value as a point of reference and even economic policies subject to the pressures to act exerted by the "real" economic world cannot do without models based on "pure theory".

1983 predictions
Economic institutes' spring fore…

	1982	19…
Growth (%)	-1.1	
Prices (%)	+5.2	
Unemployment (millions)	1.83	2…

INDEX FUNK 1409

Yet the economic institutes … have helped more by showing … sense of reality.

The demand to cut back subsidies … the agricultural and mining sec… remove them altogether in … and in the steel industry are not realistic.

One single national government … not practise an exclusively … policy in these internationally … matic areas of the economy.

National economic policies … hope to be successful where the … of Ministers of the EEC and … nomic summits have failed.

But a national government … course, be in a position to achie… nimum of agreement between … and practical measures.

The advance in confidence … risk of being gambled away … mised wind of change fails to … se.

Frank J. E…

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, …)

Spending cuts 'not enough'

The Bonn government's economic steps have run into criticism from the conservative majority of the economic research institutes.

The government has cut back public spending, put the brakes on public debt, removed certain social benefits and it has given companies more tax incentives.

In doing so it has followed expert advice. But this has not saved it from the bludgeon of the institutes' spring report.

The cuts in spending are much too low, they complain.

The measures designed to help finance economic aid, such as the increase in value added tax or the special investment levy, are even regarded as steps in the wrong direction.

Of course the experts may be wrong themselves. The government would be wise not to follow their advice.

They may well be brimming over with noble principles of responsibility and the willingness to achieve greater things, yet they cannot free themselves from contradiction.

For now, the government and the Bundesbank are asked to stop what, in the opinion of the experts, has brought about the modest economic revival in the first place: the promotion of housing construction and the expansion in the amount of money available to the economy.

The recommendations are on the whole tantamount to a demand to commit political suicide.

The government is asked to bring down taxation and at the same time call off the tax increases already decided upon.

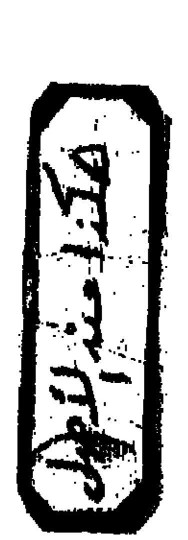
Increased contributions to the unemployment benefit and pension schemes ought to be dropped and such increases avoided in future.

Where is the money for all this going to come from? Who is going to finance the pensions?

What is going to happen to the steel industry and the shipyards without government assistance?

Scientific experts do not have to answer questions like this. The government does.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 May 1983)



Rate of price increases is getting slower faster

Monthly price-change reports in the Federal Republic of Germany are good news these days.

In January the rate of price increases dropped below the 4 per cent mark for the first time in 3½ years.

February and March brought even better tidings. Figures fell to 3.7 and 3.5 per cent respectively.

Last year was successful for monetary and stability policies, although there were a few blemishes.

One criticism was that inflation up until the end of 1982 did not drop as much as it had during other recessionary phases.

Nevertheless, the reduced price upsurge this year has led to optimism.

Almost all experts agree that a further drop in price inflation is likely.

Leaving aside specific seasonal factors, the Federal Republic has already arrived at a price rise rate of about 2.5 per cent a year.

The medium-term prospects are just as good and this optimism would be confirmed if the economy does indeed pick up again.

The initial stages of a renewed upswing are regularly accompanied by relatively stable prices anyway, because of the reduction in unit costs associated with greater capacity utilisation.

In addition, the tendency towards a consistently form mark against most other currencies checks price increases for import goods.

What is more, world-wide competition will also make price excesses all the more difficult.

All that is missing is for the mark to pick up against the dollar. This possibility is indicated by the state of various current-account balances.

A complete passing-on of the forthcoming increase in value added tax to the consumer, who has once gain realised his power in this economic phase, is doubtful.

Finally, lower energy prices and a moderate increase in wages provide relief on the cost side.

The low market interest rates are just as important, for they can support demand and facilitate investment decisions.

The overall optimism with regard prices is backed up by the *Deutsche Bundesbank.*

At a conference of German savings-banks in Frankfurt president of the Bundesbank, Karl Otto Pöhl, gave assurances that the top monetary officials would not permit the emergence of a new inflation potential.

The past tells us that if necessary such words are followed by deeds.

During the past, as one joker put it, the inflation rate was brought down by governments moving the decimal point one space to the left.

This has fundamentally changed, the world over. There is generally a gradual reduction in the considerable disruptions of equilibrium suffered by many economies, including Germany's for many years.

If a closer look is taken at the … Rectangle" the West German … is characterised by a straighte… of two of its corners.

The balance of payments equ… has been re-established and as … pointed out the prices show … signs of lasting recovery.

The labour market, on the … hand, presents a consistently … picture and growth still leaves … deal to be desired.

A glance at the most importa… cators creates the impression tha… all the successes with regard to … ces the joy can only be half… when considering the high une… ment figure.

The master stroke of economic … still remains to be achieved: fu… ployment with stable prices, wh… still left to be done to create the … sary framework for such a possib…

If this is to be achieved … policies and policies of stability … harmonised more satisfactorily.

Economic reflation must there… hand in hand with the fight ag… flation.

A kind of two-pronged strategy … in future steer a course towards … jectives: maintaining the success … ed up to now in checking inflatio…

Continued on page 7

…rewers in the Federal Republic of Germany are casting an envious …nce at colleagues in the soft drinks …tor.

…he manufacturers of mineral water, …eshment drinks and fruit juices are …asing sales. But brewers haven't …hed 1976, when beer sales hit re… levels.

[…rope had an extremely hot sum… in 1976. — Ed]

…tillers are also struggling in the … of coming increases in taxes on … Their production fell by 15 per … in 1982.

… (sparkling wine) producers are …nding it hard to cope with the re… of an increased tax.

…perience has shown that sekt pro… take about five years to recover … tax increases.

…es for refreshments, mineral water … fruit juices tell a different story.

…e future of the soft drinks sector is looking pretty good and there is an …ased trend towards non-alcoholic …ks.

■ BUSINESS

Slaking the thirst of a nation — at a profit

But the high growth rates, particularly for mineral water, will slow.

Beverages are subject to a natural slowdown in consumption growth rates on account of gradually reaching the saturation point of about 700 litres per year per person.

However, ten years ago this saturation level was put at 600 litres, so there would seem to be scope for an upward shift.

Nevertheless, the lasting stagnation in the population figures will set a limit to the expansion of the overall consumption of drinks.

The Basle-based economic research institute, *Prognos AG*, forecasts an average annual growth rate for soft drinks of 2.0 per cent between 1980 and 1985, the figure dropping to 1.7 per cent between 1985 and 1990.

Most of the growth is accounted for by mineral water (4.3 and 3.3 per cent) and fruit juices (3.0 and 2.6 per cent).

The consumption of mineral water will benefit from the growing health awareness and the stricter alcohol laws. It is also cheaper than other non-alcoholic drinks.

Fruit juices and nectars will also sell more because of growing health consciousness.

There is a clear trend in this respect towards higher-priced qualities with a special health touch.

Fizzy drinks and other sweet drinks will lose their importance as drinks for children.

Due to the market strength of the large suppliers, cola drinks will, however, be able to strengthen their position.

The more "adult oriented" drinks, such as the bitter drinks and the diabetic drinks can expect further increases. However, the share of the market will remain limited.

On the whole, the traditional field of carbonated (fizzy) refreshments will have to face increased competition from fruit juices and mineral water, where new products will cater for the trend towards differentiated consumption.

The favourable position compared with other branches will only satisfy those who think purely in terms of quantities.

For the soft-drinks market is increasingly characterised by "crowding-out" and the number of individual business operations is decreasing and will continue to.

Above all, the spring-water companies are stuck with substantial surplus capacities, set up in expectation of a demand boom.

Although price increases were pushed through last year, the branch still has a price level similar to 15 years ago.

The main beneficiaries of the favourable sales situation are the regional and supra-regional suppliers of mineral water, while the local springs are usually forced to put their goods on the shelves at low prices to get into distribution channels at all.

The market for sweet refreshment drinks is decisively influenced by the though competition between the big American suppliers, which are making life more and more difficult for the medium-scale enterprises with their own brands.

As regards the marketing agents there have also been trends towards increased concentration.

The food trade, which gets most of the drinks to the right man, represents a considerable force and influences the sales, price and terms of its suppliers.

This also means that it prefers brands which are distributed on a supra-regional basis, are well known and have a corresponding advance sale on account of advertising.

What is really needed is a vast improvement in marketing.

Karlheinz Voss

(Handelsblatt, 3 May 1983)

Eaters out go for exotic restaurants

Only 49 per cent of all West Germans prefer German food when … go out for a meal.

…e other 51 per cent prefer foreign … French is the most popular, fol…ed by Balkan, Italian and Chinese.

…is is the result of a survey by the …ckert Institute in Tübingen.

A similar survey seven years ago re…ed that 68 per cent went for the German food and only 32 per cent for the foreign.

Older Germans go for German meals, the younger for the foreign.

Among 18 to 30 year-olds, only 29 per cent preferred German foods.

Over-60s preferred the local food by 68 per cent as against 32 per cent.

Of 18 to 30 year-olds with foreign preference, 29 per cent prefer French, 18 per cent Balkan, 19 per cent Italian, 14 per cent Chinese and two per cent others.

As the Wickert Institute points out, there is a message somewhere for people who want to run restaurants. *ddp*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 May 1983)

Men go for beer while their wives opt for coffee

Alcoholic drinks, ranging from beer to schnaps, from wine to whisky, make up 78.64 per cent of all liquids consumed by the average German.

A study shows that men are much more thirsty than women: 676 litres of various liquids go down each German male throat each year. Women only manage 416 litres.

What do men like to drink most? "Beer, of course," say 29 per cent of those surveyed, 19 per cent prefer coffee, 9 per cent mineral water, 8 per cent tea, and 8 per cent wine.

Among women, coffee is easily the most popular drink. It is preferred by one in four; 13 per cent go for mineral water, 9 per cent for fruit juices, 6 per cent in each case go for beer, tea, refreshment drinks and wine, 5 per cent for both milk and herbal tea.

The figures issued by drink manufacturers help complete the picture:

● Beer: Last year 94.8 million hectolitres of beer was brewed (+ 1.2 %) in the 1,023 breweries in the Federal Republic of Germany. Total turnover: DM13.8bn (+ 5 %).

● Wine: last year 16 million hectolitres, an increase of 116 per cent and a record, was fermented. Per capita consumption was 24.8 litres.

● Spirits: A 15 per cent sales drop and a 5 per cent decrease in the value of the sales to DM5.85bn. The main reason, says the industry was the two increases in the tax on spirits within a year. The 138 distilleries which distil schnaps and other spirits produced a total of 3.3 million hectolitres last year, as compared to 3.65 hectolitres the year before.

● Sekt: 268m bottles were sold in 1982, 15 million down on 1981. The main reason: increase in tax.

● Mineral water: Sales increased by 10 per cent to 2,8 billion litres.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 April 1983)

Continued from page 6

bringing about a reasonable degree of economic growth.

This does not, however, mean that stability policies must step down into second position on the priority list.

The economic tightrope walk requires added support from the state and both sides of industry.

This approach is in line with the recommendations made to extend the four objectives of the "Magic Rectangle" (growth, full employment, price stability and balance of payments equilibrium) by adding two more: restraint in public spending and a more harmonious income distribution.

A combined strategy will only then function smoothly if policies in general are geared towardsd greater stability.

Only then are hopes for growth without inflation realistic and only then is a lasting reduction in the level of unemployment a realistic suggestion.

A comment by former *Bundespräsident* Walter Scheel sums up this line of argument: "Stability isn't everything, but without it everything else is of no use".

(Der Tagesspiegel, 1 May 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

What the arrival of the Greens signifies for German politics

The Greens cannot be assessed solely in terms of the numerical weight they carry in Parliament.

They make up a slender wedge two seats across and 14 rows deep in the Bundestag, but it is a deep rift in the post-war political world.

For the Federal Republic of Germany it marks nothing less than a turning-point. The Bundestag in its present composition is the sum-total of an entire era in the country's history.

The arrival of the Greens in Bonn is the latest development in a trend that began 10 or 15 years ago, first on the outskirts, at provincial universities, then progressively making headway.

It has been a process of fundamental change and disintegration of the old order, of protest and dissociation, of departure from and repudiation of political consensus.

This erstwhile political consensus was rough-hewn in the immediate post-war era and comfortably furnished during the period of post-war prosperity.

It came to be regarded as the groundwork on which the Federal Republic was based.

The issues on which its repudiation were based have changed too. So have the forces that were the mainstay of change.

What began as a student uprising has become a critical protest against civilisation, and major construction sites and civic meetings, not university departments, are its catalysts.

Challenge is clear

As time has gone by it has grown increasingly apparent what the repercussions were, and now the Greens are in the Bundestag it is clear what a challenge they and what they stand for pose to all past policies and politics.

The Greens are not just a splinter group (and this is not the place to discuss whether or not they are a bona fide political party).

They are not just indicative of the impact of issues such as environmental hazards, the aggressive wish for peace and the fresh outlook on life taken by the younger generation.

The vote of electoral confidence that took them into the Bundestag is first and foremost the other side of the coin of mistrust of established political parties.

They primarily represent the reluctance many people feel to continue to allow themselves to be represented by the party-political Establishment.

In short, they are an expression at the polls of a widespread dissatisfaction with politics as it is.

That is why the importance of the Greens lies less in what they might say or do in practical parliamentary work. They themselves are the message.

It is that roughly two million voters no longer feel themselves adequately represented by conventional political convictions.

They testify to a determination to be different as seen in their fundamental opposition to established politics.

It may look like a happening but it is meant seriously and must be taken se-



riously. It is more than a breakthrough in political conventions in the form of open-necked shirts and members knitting in the Bundestag.

It symbolises not only the demand for different policies but also a call for politics itself to be different.

It must become easier to get on with, gentler and transposed, as it were, from the political sphere, into that of everyday experience and the way people ordinarily live.

It is a call for politics to seek greater proximity to the people, to those affected and to those who, hopefully, are to be given a share in decision-making.

Views may and will differ on the advantages and drawbacks of the "new" politics, but there can be no doubt that dissatisfaction with the "politics of old" is more than a tear-jerking catchphrase.

It is, moreover, not just limited to the alternative periphery of society or to people who voted Green.

The malaise is more far-reaching, extending to supporters of all political parties, and few thoughtful observers of the political scene will feel able to disregard it.

All these protests and challenges could set little enough in motion if much had not already been on the move in the breadth and depth of society, and normal society too!

The system that appears to be faced with dropouts, new ways of life and agonising reappraisals is anything but a firmly-based society that is unaffected by anything resembling self-doubt.

It may at times seem, from the outside, to be as firm as a rock, but this impression is offset by the findings opinion pollsters have lately unearthed.

People are disenchanted to a dramatically high degree with established political parties. They are prepared to a surprising extent to accept demonstrations and protest movements as modes of political debate.

Many are opposed to the stationing of fresh nuclear weapons in Germany, and all these views go far beyond the views espoused by the political Establishment.

The general election results showed that such sentiments have yet to make any serious impact on voting habits. But that doesn't disprove their existence.

Is dissatisfaction with politics entirely unwarranted? Politics by a large still keeps the system functioning. Government, the economy and society still work, which is no mean achievement.

But the mere functioning no longer exercises any fascination and can no longer be said to set people's minds at rest either.

Seldom indeed does it still convey a heartwarming feeling of togetherness.

Besides, what Kurt Biedenkopf once referred to as the gap in understanding in politics is by no means limited to the context he meant.

Painful wedges

The former CDU general secretary was referring to the discrepancy between the thin air of abstraction in which nuclear strategy seemed to be at home and the dwindling opportunity of viewing it as a matter for personal political commitment.

But gaps of this kind are apparent in all sectors of politics, and everywhere they drive a painful wedge between people's everyday experience and the political problems on which their destiny depends.

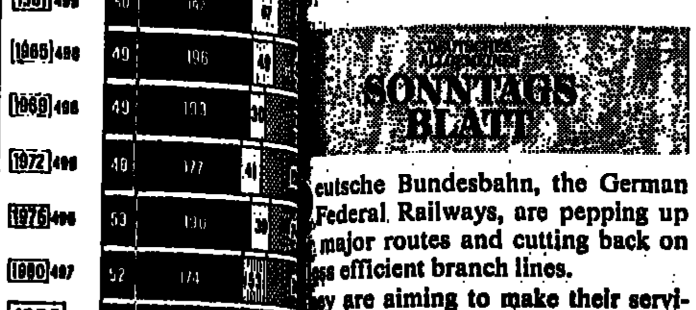
They exist in respect of both high tech and acid rain and extend to the simplest pieces of paperwork, as was shown by Helmut Schmidt's lament, as Chancellor, that he couldn't make head nor tail of his electricity bill.

So it is hardly suprising that more and more people feel politics has come adrift of their lives, of normal life of any kind.

And it is hardly surprising that the Greens exist, for whatever they may be



Greens (on bicycles) make a point. (Photo: Poly-Press)



or lay claim to being, they powerful, how irritating and this tension between politics day life can be felt to be.

The Greens may feel thems advocates of problems and have hitherto gone unnotic breath of fresh life in a stulti cal system or to be a dubious sory offshoot of the society they are so energetically oppo

But they are certainly the that this tension is capable a degree at which dissatisfa politics is directed against po

The new Bundestag is do a substantial majority of Chr Free Democrats, both parties not be suspected of casting doubt on established politics.

This in itself need not argument against the exten faction with it.

Against the background malaise hopes of, or even a policy may well arise that end uncertainty and come to the situation.

There are indications that pectations helped the Christian crats to win so handsomely and it is by no means inconsi both the new Green minority new majority have carried destag a trend dating well back 1970s.

That was when the resurge Christian Democrats began now all but gained them a majority. It was prompted rejection of the 1968 unrest Greens are the heirs.

The challenge to establish that the Greens represent is only one the country faces. time other issues, such as ment, the state of the econom ing the budget and realigning security system, are likely more heavily.

That is not as much as to mountainous problems on the horizons of world trade and nal relations.

But that does not absolve of their responsibility to be crisis of politics to which the the Bundestag so tellingly testify.

Politics itself alone can challenge to itself, by dealing dissatisfaction that has promp

To quote educationalist Har Hentig the political system being the *res anonyma* it has and start being the *res publica* to be: a matter for the entire p

Hermann R

(Die Zeit

TRANSPORT

Bundesbahn sees fast trains as answer to car and aircraft

SONNTAGSBLATT

eutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, are pepping up major routes and cutting back on less efficient branch lines.

ey are aiming to make their servi- mpete with the private car and the es.

peed is the essence of Bundesbahn ning: cruising speeds of between and 250kph, or 125 to 156mph.

urrent inter-city services already h 200kph on a handful of routes, h as between Munich and Augsburg, most of the permanent way dates k to the 19th century.

n those days rail transport was a l-blazer. Speeds that are now feasi-, or soon will be, were beyond what one then imagined.

Track was landscaped, especially in y areas, with many narrow bends fairly steep gradients, both of ich effectively rule out high-speed vel.

High-speed track is an entirely diffe- matter. It is as straight and level as sible, even in mountainous regions.

The steepest gradient is 1.25 per cent, 1 in 80, and the radius of bends is t to be less than 7,000 metres, or ut four and a half miles.

This calls for substantial earthworks tunnelling, as shown by the two sections of permanent way under struction between Hanover and rzburg and Mannheim and Stuttgart.

About a third of the track passes ough tunnels and a further third runs ough cuttings. A quarter is at ground el or on embankments. The remain- is on bridges.

The tunnels will naturally be a great ef to neighbouring residents; they absolutely soundproof. So, up to a int, are the sections that run through lings.

People who live near new sections of manent way now under construction understandably worried about the se trains travelling at 250kph are g to make.

The Bundesbahn has commissioned extensive noise survey and ruled that residential areas trains are not to ed 55 perceived noise decibels.

hat is about 15 decibels less than the e city traffic can reach, and a reduc- by three decibels is substantial ugh.

hree perceived noise decibels less is by people subjected to it to be a half the previous noise level.

s a matter of principle every effort been taken to ensure that the new manent way keeps well clear of t-up areas.

ut wherever the noise limit is ex- ed embankments must be raised walls built to ensure soundproofing icient to keep within the limit.

Mainly conservative protest groups e been set up by residents along the posed route. They are opposed to cific sections of the permanent way d in some cases plan to spike the ns of the entire project.

Tamm, a village in Württemberg, is a case in point. Part of the track is to be tunnelled there, the remainder to be a cutting.

Residents are clamouring for the entire section to be tunnelled. They argue that the land through which the permanent way is to pass is good farmland and that a tunnel would result in no loss of acreage.

Bundesbahn planners are particularly proud of the limited space needed by the new track in comparison with other modes of transport.

A six-lane autobahn, including central reservation and hard shoulder, is 37.50 metres, or 123ft, wide. A canal in keeping with current European specifications is 55 metres, or 180ft, wide.

Twin railway tracks with overhead electricity masts on either side are a mere 13.70 metres, or 45ft, across.

What this means in practice is that the 327km (204 miles) of new track from Hanover to Würzburg would take up a surface area of only 1,055 hectares, or 2,637 acres, as against over 2,300 hectares, or 5,750 acres, of land the proposed new Munich airport would engulf.

Opponents can use legal procedures to challenge only sections of the route. The project as a whole can only be delayed, not brought to a complete halt.

But basically they are opposed to the construction of new sections of railway because they feel the railways as a whole are outmoded.

The trend is increasingly toward road transport in both passenger and freight traffic, they argue, so expensive new railway projects are superfluous and a waste of money.

Ecologists, on the other hand, are all in favour of expanding the public transport network, while Bundesbahn advertising is at pains to stress that the railways are the cleanest mode of transport available. Electric locomotives do not, it is true, emit exhaust fumes or other harmful substances en route. But the electric power they use is generated at power stations, and most of the Bundesbahn's power stations are coal-fired. Now that rivers, lakes and entire forests seem to be falling foul of pollution the railways can no longer make themselves out to be so innocent in environmental terms.

They could if they were to outstrip everyone else in fitting out their power stations with filters to prevent the release of sulphur into the atmosphere.

The Bundesbahn's energy use is hard to surpass. Passenger and goods traffic require only a third of the energy by rail that they need for transport by road.

The Airbus, which is so highly rated as an economic aircraft, consumes six times as much energy. The railways even outperform transport by inland waterways on this count.

Another argument opponents put forward is that high-speed trains merely zoom past without bringing the slightest progress in transport technology to the provinces.

It's quicker to go straight through... rail tunnel being built by the cut-and-cover system. (Photo: Deutsche Bundesbahn)

This argument is hard to refute. On the Mannheim-Stuttgart section, for instance, there will be only four points of contact between the new route and the old.

These will be the only junctions at which other trains can intersect with the new permanent way and reduce to some extent the time it takes to travel by rail from the surrounding areas to the built-up areas at either end.

Existing inter-city services no longer stop between Heidelberg and Stuttgart, so the new track will make little difference to connecting services.

That leaves the fundamental issue of whether higher speed and shorter travel times are worth the expense. All that can be said is that it will make an impressive difference between Mannheim and Stuttgart.

At present the permanent way twists and turns through hilly country and even inter-city trains take 80 minutes to cover the distance.

By the 1990s, when the new permanent way is in use, the time it takes will have been halved to 40 minutes!

That will make the Rhine-Neckar region (Mannheim and Heidelberg) virtually a part of Stuttgart's catchment area, while the time trains take from Hanover to Würzburg will be cut by over an hour.

The aim is attract more passengers. It may work, although no-one can say for sure. If neighbouring France is any guide it should do so.

Since the introduction of super-fast rail services between Paris and Lyons the number of passengers is reported to have increased by 50 per cent.

The financial situation allowing, the two new sections of permanent way in Germany are not to be the last.

In the Upper Rhine valley the track between Rastatt and Basle is to be rebuilt, as further downstream is the section from Cologne to Koblenz.

But it will definitely be the 21st century before trains reach speeds of 250kph on these routes.

Bernd-Wilfried Kiessler

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 April 1983)

Sackings, line closures planned in bid to cut huge rail debt

The Bundesbahn intends closing some routes and sacking staff in an effort to put a halt to its spiralling debt.

The board of the nationalised Bundesbahn has announced two possible plans. The most radical would involve cutting manpower from 312,000 to 230,000 by 1987 and to 212,000 by 1990.

Board chairman Reiner Maria Gohlke, speaking at the Hanover Fair, said only swingeing economies could prevent the Bundesbahn's annual deficit from reaching DM10bn by 1990 and accumulated debts from topping DM90bn.

He and his board, who have been at the helm for just over a year, plan to resort to the dubious economies of old — sacking staff and closing routes.

That shows, if anything, how limited their options are. The railways bear such a heavy responsibility for maintaining loss-making routes as a public service that they have little or no leeway in which to emerge from the red.

The more radical of the two plans is to axe passenger traffic routes from 22,000km to 15,000km and freight routes from 27,000km to 20,000km.

Bundesbahn manpower would be cut from the present 312,000 to 230,000 in 1987 and 212,000 in 1990.

Subject to these cuts the board feels running losses could be limited to DM5bn a year by 1990 provided Federal government subsidies were maintained at DM13.5bn per annum.

The less drastic of the two plans presupposes a greater increase in productivity and capacity utilisation. It provides for annual closures of 2,000km of passenger line, leaving 16,000km still in use by 1990.

Manpower would be cut by 10,000 a year until 1987 and thereafter, until 1990, by 8,000 a year.

Running losses might then be cut to DM2.8bn a year by 1987 and to DM1.8bn a year by 1990, with accumulated debts totalling DM48bn and DM56bn respectively.

Manpower cuts are a prospect to which the railwaymen's union is understandably opposed.

Wolfram Weldner

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 21 April 1983)



THE ENVIRONMENT

Neuburg-Schrobenhausen goes to top of the class

The environment and environmental protection are issues laden with strong feelings.

Germans are more afraid of nature being jeopardised than they are of unemployment, war or a higher crime rate; 77 per cent put the environment at the head of their list of worries, according to an EEC survey last year.

But the expression given to this fear is generally uncertain, jittery and shrill. The environment has emerged as a catchphrase in disputes between group egoists, party-political, tacticians and social strategists.

Given pride, prejudice born of ignorance and a Gordian knot of problems, it is hardly suprising that a number of civil servants have been sparing with information in *compiling the first ecological inventory* of the Federal Republic and West Berlin.

They would, for example, said nothing about foodstuffs analyses.

What comes as more of a surprise is the amount of information that was available about atmospheric pollution, noise, waterways, drinking water, the soil, waste, harmful substances in what we eat, and nature conservation.

Compiled by Federal and state government agencies, it has been collected and evaluated for the State of the Nation: its ecological state, that is.

This is the programmatic title of an environmental atlas that lists and illustrates the 26 worst environmental hazards as they occur in each *Land* and Berlin.

The result is 180 coloured maps, charts and tables linking data, facts and analyses. Grades from 1 to 6 are awarded (as low as 7 in the case of environmental protection).

The average grade can then be taken as a cross-section of the area's performance, with less than 2.5 counting as very good and more than 4 as bad.

The findings are that the environment is still in good shape in over half the country, the highest marks being scored by Neuburg-Schrobenhausen, a rural area in Lower Bavaria.

In roughly one in four of the Federal Republic's 238 administrative districts and metropolitan boroughs the state of the environment is either unsatisfactory or bad.

The worst marks are scored by two cities in the Ruhr, Bochum and Dortmund.

The ratings must not be overestimated, and not every missing item of information could be compensated for, but the first regional assessment of the environment is the most detailed and comprehensive there has ever been.

The grades are arranged in such a way that a single grade cannot blot an otherwise unimpeachable copybook. Neuburg-Schrobenhausen averages 2.1 despite to 6 for nature conservation.

At the other end of the scale Bochum averages 4.6 despite a faultless 1 for sewage disposal.

Environmental ratings are poor, as might be expected, in the industrial areas on the Rhine and the Ruhr. They are predictably poor in Frankfurt and Mannheim. But they are none too good in Nuremberg and Bonn too.

They are unsatisfactory in nearly all other conurbations, including Hamburg, with 3.8, and Berlin, with 3.6. The exception is Munich, with a middle-of-the-road 3.0.

The countrywide trends that can be inferred from regional figures are by no means entirely negative. The shortage of oxygen that used to threaten rivers and lakes with biological death by virtue of a surfeit of sewage is on the decline.

Sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere is likewise on the decline, although since 1970 three and a half million tonnes of sulphur dioxide were pumped into the air from factory and power station chimneys.

That corresponds to an annual pollution equivalent to 62,000 freight cars of pure sulphur.

Sulphur dioxide, which is partly converted into sulphuric acid in the atmosphere, is considered to be a principal cause of acid rain and the tree death epidemic.

It also accelerates the corrosion of steel and masonry.

The atlas is first again to relate tree deaths to the surface area of a given district that is listed as being woodland or forest.

More than 15 per cent of listed woodland has been it in many areas, especially in the Ruhr, in the north-west of Baden-Württemberg, along the eastern border of the Federal Republic and in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony between the Weser and the Elbe.

Last year 7.7 per cent of woodland in the country was damaged. Six pine trees out of 10 were diseased.

Alarming figures are given for heavy metal counts in soil, drinking water and foodstuffs.

Much more phosphates, fertiliser containing cadmium, are used in Germany than in other comparable countries: 74kg per hectare per annum.

About one per cent of drinking water contains more than 90 milligrams of nitrate all the year round. The WHO recommends a maximum of 45 milligrams.

If there were as much lead in drinking water as there is in white wine it ought not to be touched with a bargepole!

Nature conservation proves inadequate as a yardstick. There isn't a single nature reserve in the country that complies with international requirements for an unspoilt nature reserve.

Nine out of 10 of the Federal Republic's 1,500 or so nature reserves are, moreover, no larger than a trio of football pitches, or less than 200 hectares.

This area, equivalent to 500 ... the absolute minimum in which eco-systems will function.

About five times more land is covered by asphalt and concrete ... in Germany than is listed as a nature reserve.

Now the ecological hazards have stood up and been counted ... of a shortage of alarming figures ... unsatisfactory states of affairs ... ever.

The atlas deals with the rate ... ground water is used, radiation ... the open air and in people's ... lung and stomach cancer frequency ... traffic density, the quality of ... and the area of space available ... reation.

The data compiled, analyses and conclusions reached by Egmont Koch, the scientific journalist, ... Fritz Vahrenholt, a senior official ... Hesse Ministry of Environmental Affairs, cannot lightly be dismissed.

They are both keenly interested in environmental affairs and were co-authors in 1978 of a report entitled *Seveso ist überall* (Seveso is Everywhere).

There is no mistaking their ... commitment, which at times acquires an emotional tinge, as when they ... trees suffering from starvation.

Egmont R. Koch and Fritz Vahrenholt, *Lage der Nation, Umwelt-Atlas der ... republik. Daten, Analysen, Konsequenzen* (State of the Nation, Environmental ... the Federal Republic, Data, Analyses, ... sequences.), published by Geo, ... Jahr Verlag, Hamburg, 484pp., ... DM19.80.

Rhine as the eternal German ... to the topsoil as longsuffering.

The text, detailed and accompanied by telling colour photos, is ... derstandable without oversimplification.

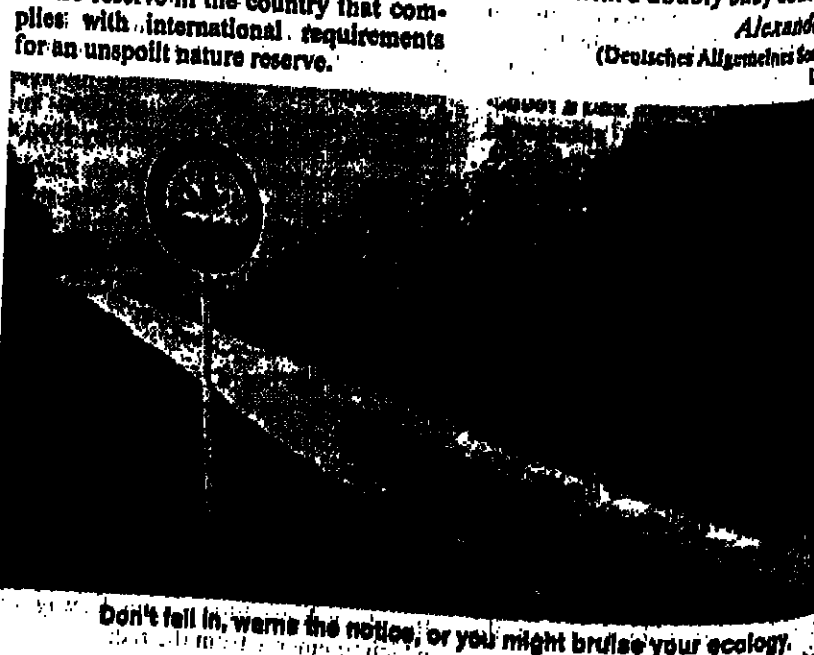
Before publication the atlas ... and encouraged a number of ... ters and local government officials ... ideological agitation is just the ... thing of which it can be accused.

It could well be dubbed a ... Book, drawing a comparison ... racy and information with ... white books, black books, blue ... and the like.

The difference is that the environmental atlas was published not ... vernment initiative but on a ... tion of journalistic and scientific ... tive. It is published for *Geo* ... and anyone who has seen from ... quarters, as I have, what and ... detail were lavished on it can ... mend it with a doubly easy conscience.

Alexander ...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt ...)



Don't fall in, warns the notice, or you might bruise your ecology. (Photo: Manfred ...)

THE ARTS

Meet Jean Harlow and the Beatles in the Peter Blake wonderland

...an Harlow smiles out from under the violet brim of her hat, an en...ting tooth-paste smile from the pic...s mirrored frame.

...xy Roxy, with a neat hair-do, dri...daringly from London to New ..., taking along mementos ranging ... the Tower Bridge to the Statue of ...ty.

...ron Adolf Kaiser greets us with his ... wrestler's arm, Irish Lord X ... through a threatening mask, ...ked Zebra Kid has added his auto...ph.

...e Beatles are there too, nice young ...; the space is still empty where their ...ature should be.

...oung boys without faces wear pin-...irls on their proud ties. Children reading comics. Alice looks out ... behind the looking-glass.

...e painter himself wears a jeans suit ... presents the buttons on his chest as ...y were medals.

...tania, the fairy queen, fills her lap ... daisies and Montgomery Clift dan... in front of pillars which have ...mbled.

Wonderland is everywhere. Every...re we find Elvis and Brigitte Bar..., Frank Sinatra, Bo Diddley, rock ... pop stars, film stars, badges, stic... kitsch postcards, quotes from the ... world, bits of reality, painted, stuck ... finds from a mass culture, which is ... own, and yet alien to us.

Such is the wonderland of Peter ...ke, an English artist born in 1932. ... is a world of bizarre and threaten... innocence.

The Kestner Society in Hanover is ...enting an exhibition of Blake's ...ks.

The size of the exhibition has been ... down in comparison to its presenta... in London's Tate Gallery, and this ... good move.

The pictures, collages and drawings ...icting the fifties and sixties are co...ful, varied and exude an amazing ...hness.

The seventies, with the artist turning ...y from London to the countryside, ... to the academic painting tradition ... the 19th century, are just as proble... as are Blake's most recent pain..., which are literally left upon — ...finished."

The latter are (still) only fragments, ...grammes to be completed during the ...ing years; a more sceptical than op...stic, hesitant new start.

This is a style of painting which ...rges like a phantom of fantastic rea... and once again underlines what ... Blake stated in 1967: "I tend to ...ise the art of "not-going-along-...-the-crowd," sometimes conscious... ...d sometimes unconsciously."

The "crowd," which takes up the ... (older) part of the exhibition, ... ceased to exist for some time.

Pop art as an English phenomenon, ... more complicated and multilayer... than its American variant, a style ...ch was developed in the wake of ...munication theories.

...revolutionary, often highly ironic ...llion against fixed positions in Bri... art, together with a mixture of re...ion and admiration with regard to ... new consumer paradise of the fif..., for all the advertising which came ... from the USA, for all the stars and the consumer goods, which both became items of mass production.

Pop art in Britain was very fast to increase awareness of mass culture, mass media and everyday myths, sweeping aside the barriers between "advanced culture" and subculture, between the banal and the artistically beautiful.

Pop art in Britain took an intelligent course of development, incredibly sensitive to the artistic changes in the mood of the period.

Peter Blake, as an art student in London (he was once in the Royal Air Force), was one of the first artists to take a closer look at the roots and effects of trivial art:

"I am trying to find the technical means of regaining the authentic feeling of popular art."

Blake was a loner, an artist with a particular preference for painting children, the circus, wrestlers and striptease dancers.

He was attracted by myths, rock music, for example, because it was popular, even though he preferred jazz himself.

However, he never turned into a myth himself as did Andy Warhol in New York.

He saw himself as a "fan of the legend not of the person" and never saw Elvis Presley, even though he was a recurrent theme in his works. He once said: "What I do becomes popular art."

And so he transposed his artistic yearnings for the world of stars and the small and cosy world of privacy into his traditional way of painting.

This often brought about problems: the tangible additions, the unfinished sections, the blurred zones, naive techniques of composition and the ironic imitations of reality.

Imitation is the key to this artistic world and is a prime factor in the appealing combination of entertainment and reflection to be found in Blake's works. All is imitated: the lockers, the pinboards, the hoardings. For example, in one of his main early paintings, the balcony picture completed between 1955-1957, there are imitated hints of fine art (Manet, Matisse), of magazine front pages, of Elvis buttons, of souvenirs, of cornflake advertising and last but not least of the royal family waving on the balcony, the inspiration for the picture's name.

Blake's Jean Harlow (Photo: Catalogue)

Pictures within a picture, on various levels, have been included in the painting and child-like figures are exposed to all these pictures in the painting itself.

The series of imitations could be continued: from the puffed-up postcard couples, Alice in Wonderland to the more recent fairy queen or the almost exact, cold and even rigidly painted meeting between Blake and Hockney, which follows along the lines of Courbet's famous painting "Bonjour Monsieur Courbet", completed in 1854.

Blake has therefore taken the great French painter to Hockney's Californian home and the question could be asked whether this twofold excursion is not just an escape.

For Blake is an eccentric and out-and-out British in character, at least in the eyes of continental Europeans: a person whose passion for collecting various items seems endless.

"Blake is almost too child-like to be seen capable of the ironical detachment so readily attributed to the British."

And yet he is characterised by that which is so appealing about eccentrics: they are loners, with a feel for the comical and crazy, the cryptic, the ambiguous, for the lousy pub atmosphere and the delightful atmosphere of tea parties.

Lewis Carrolls' Madhatter in *Alice in Wonderland* got lost in time and time stood still: six o'clock, tea-time.

The beholder of Blake's early paintings would also like time to stand still, to be able to remember and recognise the freshness of those days. And yet this is not possible.

Times have changed, the painter himself has changed, and has moved on to more uncertain terrain. *Ursula Bode*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 April 1983)

Botched translations or not botched? That's the question

There are times when one is just left speechless. One occasion was during the opening event at this year's Annual Shakespeare Convention in the theatre of Darmstadt.

A venerable, elderly gentleman said all modern German translations of Shakespeare were "botched."

He appealed to German theatre directors to stop playing to the gallery in Shakespeare's name and start "playing Shakespeare" once again.

This hackneyed and meaningless appeal has a familiar ring to it.

It seems that every time a crude word is spoken on stage or a clown pulls down trousers exit doors are slammed in the auditorium and there are cries to the tune of "I'll not have anybody spoil my Shakespeare!".

The fact that such biassed hypersensitivity was to be heard during such a top-class convention of the German Shakespeare Society West and was then greeted by mumbling approval would unfortunately seem to support fears that the attempts to "clear up" and "loosen up" our theatre over the past 15 to 20 years have not had the desired effect in the opinion of most of the theatre-going audience.

Prejudices would seem to have increased rather than decreased.

This year's topic for discussion was "Translating Shakespeare — Playing Shakespeare."

Two men involved in the practical side of theatre put forward moderately worded and clever arguments supporting a fair share of modernity in dealing with Shakespeare productions.

Shakespeare translator Frank Günther from Wiesbaden emphasised in a cleverly and casually improvised paper the necessity for both first-class knowledge of the English language and for a definite feel for current developments in the "target language."

This does not of course mean that Hamlet is going to have to sound as if it were written by Kroetz.

Yet the "poeticism" of the romantic Schlegel-Tieck translations does not correspond to today's demands on language.

The translator is continually faced by the difficulty of bridging the gap between the current lack of interest in language and the love of the abundant use of language in Shakespeare's times.

Yet even if it is taken into account that language has lost a great deal of its differentiating ability, the persons on stage must use words and sentences actually used and above all understood in the modern world.

Eike Gramss, theatrical director at Darmstadt's state theatre, underlined the need to take the present situation into consideration when dealing with the texts written by the Elisabethan playwright.

The interest in older pieces, Gramss points out, is connected with the longing for that which is different, alien, for the impetuous self-fulfilment of the Renaissance Titans.

The world of a director who has to deal each day with red traffic-lights and energy-saving is so different from the cosmos existing in Shakespeare's plays.

"We'd never get a rehearsal done if the actors weren't allowed to include their own feelings and experiences."

Professor E. A. J. Honigmann, of Newcastle upon Tyne showed the extent to which problems of text criticism can affect translation and theatrical production.

His paper on the "Uniqueness of

Continued on page 12

■ MUSIC

The organ rolls back on the crest of a crescendo

The organ has been called the Queen of Instruments. It is over 2,000 years old. It and organ music are currently on the crest of a wave of fresh and unexpected popularity both in Europe and further afield.

Up to 4,000 people are reported to be attending Sunday organ concerts at Notre Dame in Paris, while in London businessmen are going to City churches to listen to lunchtime recitals.

In Italy a remote mountain village has become a place of pilgrimage for music-lovers on account its organ.

But the pilgrim's progress from the pipes of Pan in Ancient Greece to the ornate instruments of the Baroque and the modern organ has taken time.

Organ-builders are architects in wind, channels, wood and metal and repositories of know-how ranging from craftsmanship to art and from manual to musical skills.

Theirs is a combination virtually unrivalled by any other trade. Every organ is unique, a reflection of the individual and the personality of the organ-builder whose brain-child it was.

He first had the idea of the sound he wanted to create. He put the idea into practice. He was responsible for the complicated details.

"There is nothing from the assembly-line," an organ-builder once said, emphasising the craftsmanship, the immediate contact with the materials and the unique importance of each part and of *the whole.*

Building organs is said to be a dying craft, and it is clearly true that in an age that is not given to siring complex and distinctive personalities substantial changes are inevitable in organ-building.

Yet the organ-builder must still combine a complex bundle of properties and abilities. So workshops must select their staff and trainees with care.

The best-known organ workshops in Germany are in the south, the south-west, the north and Berlin, also in Potsdam and Frankfurt/Oder in the GDR.

A high degree of craft skill must be accompanied by a subtle musical and artistic perception, a feeling for tone and quality and the ability to grasp and produce ranges of sound.

The master-builder must also have an overview of the organisation and construction, the ability to convert a feeling for space into acoustic expression.

He must have sufficient imagination to strike a balance between sound and interior architecture and be at home with figures to draw up scales.

So how do you set about becoming an organ-builder? "Child's play," says one master-builder. That's what it was in his case.

As a child he was delighted by organ pipes and he made organ-building his profession via practical work in organ maintenance and repair.

One of the most successful present-day organ-builders is Professor Karl Schuke of Berlin, who describes his apprenticeship in a brochure entitled *Von der Freude, Orgeln zu bauen* (On the Delight of Building Organs).

Alongside the technical training he spent three and a half years learning the craft. It can be anything up to 10 years. "You can be as deeply in love with an organ on completion as you can with a woman," he says.

He refers to the many parts played in the present day by these wonderful, powerfully-sounding instruments, to use his turn of phrase.

For decades organ music had been associated with the feeling of solemnity, with religious music and the clerical environment.

Nowadays modern composers such as Penderecki and Ligeti were writing works for the organ that wre performed in concert halls.

Professor Schuke has built organs for concert halls in Tokyo and for the Berlin Philharmonie, while his brother, working at the old Potsdam workshop, has built organs for the Moscow conservatory.

Potsdam has also built organs for Vilna, Gorki, the State Music Institute in Alma Ata, and for Sofia and Cracow. Berlin, like most other workshops, is mainly patronised by the churches.

The crowning glory of organ-building is intonation, which is usually carried out where the new organ is to be installed so as to take into account conditions in its acoustic environment.

Each pipe is cut and tuned in keeping with its sound character. This is the true test of an organ-builder's prowess; he is left entirely to his own musical sense.

The intonator must be able to play well and to improvise on the organ so as to demonstrate the new instrument in action.

Before designing a new organ the builder will usually take a look at the room in which it is to be housed. He will get the feel of the architecture and check the acoustics.

He will then set about designing the tone, the character, the disposition of the new instrument and deciding on the number of stops and the kind to be incorporated.

The scales of the pipework will also be arrived at in view of the location. At this stage the design is just a jumble of figures. Each pipe is expressed in terms of figures. Then the design is sent to the craftsmen. Turning a four-millimetre organ pipe on a lathe is a work of art that requires great sensitivity. You work with copper, tin, zinc and lead alloys. Stops in certain tones are made of wood. The foundry in which the metal is cast is as much a part of the organ-builder's workshop as the electrician and the carpenter. The carpenter is needed to build the wooden framework for the organ. Even in medium-sized organs the framework is so large that you can climb around inside as if you were working down a mine.



This organ, built in Hamburg in 1567, was done up ... is now in Cappel, near Bremerhaven.

Then comes the technology, which is needed to ensure that many of the functions are performed, such as the slider chest to supply the wind and the electrical equipment for the console of larger models.

Then there are the manuals and the pedals, the array of stops, the action, the furniture, the couplers and the swells.

Last but not least, there is the organ front, which gives the entire instrument architectural shape, serves the purpose of sound reflection and is invariably an expression of character.

Albert Schweitzer once said that no instrument exercised such an influence on the player as the organ did and that the art of the organ was always a product of the organ-builder.

He gave the organ movement initial impetus that led to a change of style in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s.

A lighter, more transparent sound has since been preferred, and more smaller organs have been built, in keeping with today's mainly smaller churches.

There have been other new developments, such as the music of Schönberg, Strawinsky, Hindemith and modern experimental composers.

Technical improvements have made it easier to make more acurate calculations, resulting in design changes. In the 1970s the first organ designed with the aid of a computer was built.

Organs have since been built after consulting acoustics specialists at technical colleges. Organ specialists at acoustics departments have built experimental pipes to test their design concepts.

This technique may make organ-building more expensive but at present it is, or so acoustics experts say, the only way to avoid inconsistency in timbre.

Physicists say modern organs can be inconsistent in timbre, unlike the balance struck by organs built by ... oque masters.

What master-builders did ... ago is now to be emulated by ... ing volume, echo and technic... analysis during intonation.

This used to be solely for the ... builder to judge, using his ... hearing, but he can now be ... the task by technology.

At the same time builders ... incorporating new tone ... gans, using a concept drawn ... gunist and organ specialist ... Schulze, a number of whose ... well-known in Germany.

His concept is based on the ... an "artistic regular relationship ... sound phenomena between ... other."

His yardsticks are immediacy ... language, transparency of ... mations, differentiation of ... struction and colour of stops.

Pipes are intoned at full wind ... ensures immediacy and plas... tone. They are attached straight ... wind chest, with neither leads ... duits. Starts and stops can be ... heard.

On this basis registers with ... narrow scales and high part-tone ... dividual stops have been desi... handle the rich trebles in conte... music.

Computer calculations and the ... of teams of physicists are likely ... a wedge between the musician ... artisan in organ-building.

That would mean the end of the ... lectual unity of the work and ... tor and of the singular individ... the organ-builder's personality.

Such trends, with their ... toward technical perfection, ... to bring about grave changes in ... fession.

But they are very much in ... with the times, given that every... done in scientific teamwork ... masters of old seem to be a dying ... today.

Christa F...

(Deutsches Allgemeines S...)

Continued from page 11

King Lear" began by looking at the special importance of *Lear* within Shakespeare's canon of tragedy and at the emblematic nature of the play.

Honigmann then referred to the *Lear* texts written in Shakespeare's time to question the common opinion that Lear's "good" daughter, Cordelia, dies in the final scene.

The interpretation of this part of the play is of vital importance for its production on stage.

Professor Kurt Otten, who lectures in Heidelberg, was the first to wander into the the realms of philology, talking on the "Illusory Nature of Love in Shakespeare's Works."

In Shakespeare's later works, he discovers the evaporation of the idealistic principle of love, which had ever since Petrarca been so common in the literature of the time.

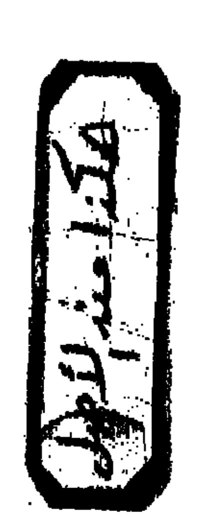
So the lyricist and poet Shakespeare did eventually come into his own in Darmstadt.

However, attention mainly centred around the man of the theatre.

A doyen of the stage then had the final word. The two-and-a-half day event was rounded off with a new production of *King Lear* by Gustav Rudolf Sellner.

Jens Friederiksen

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 27 April 1983)



... organisation has been founded to ... promote a less conventional me... of fighting cancer.

...e Society for Biological Cancer ...ntion says that conventional me... have had too little success against ...isease.

...ays the number of cures is too ... for the amount of money that has ... pumped in over the years.

...iological" methods should be ... These had been almost complete... ...glected until now both in research ... practical application.

... help patients in "as non-poiso... a way as possible as much money ... needed as orthodox medicine re... ...d in this field.

...e new society has published news... appeals. It has included a bank ...nt number in the hope that it will ...me of the money needed.

...e appeal comes from Heidelberg, ... thus sees yet another alternative ... field of medicine extend its repu...n.

...e appeal is signed by Albert ...sberger, professor of anatomy at University of Heidelberg, and who ... to himself as the president of the ...cer Prevention Society.

...r. Dr. D. Hager, director of the Cy... GmbH company in Heidelberg, ...h is primarily involved in the pro...tion and marketing of dry-cell pre...ations, is a co-signatory.

Both signatories are interested among ...er things in a new cell preparation ... the name of *Resistocell,* which con...s among other things freeze-dried ...nective tissue taken from unborn ...bs during the final quarter of the ...tation period.

According to the *Rote Liste* issued by ... Federal Association of the Pharma-

■ MEDICINE

Group pushes 'biological' approach to cancer

ceutical Industry, this product, which costs DM 141.10 for a three-ampoule packet, serves as an "additional therapy in the treatment of cancer, to activate the body's own anti-tumour resistance and to stimulate the immunising system".

The Society's committee also has as its members one male and one female internist, a further male internist who is known as a specialist for public relations, and a journalist.

On the scientific advisory board are Georges Fülgraff, formerly state secretary in the Federal Ministry for Youth, Family Affairs and Health and a former president of the Federal Health Office, where he was responsible for helping the law governing the manufacture and prescription of drugs overcome its first practical problems.

After his experiences with many controversial decisions on safety in the field of drugs, Fülgraff, who had had his initial training in conventional pharmacology, changed his attitudes.

He showed himself to be open-minded towards the pharmaceutical alternative scene made up of herbal therapists, anthroposophists and homoeopaths.

Maybe this new move just means carrying on from there.

The advisory board's secretary is radiologist, Karlheinz Renner, from the College of Medicine in Hanover, a man who can quite fairly be categorised as a supporter of "orthodox medicine".

And his pugnacious colleague, Ernst Krokowski, from Kassel can be similarly categorised. In both West German medical journals and in public, he has repeatedly had some critical things to say about the findings made by conventional cancer therapy.

On the other hand, the name of Germany's most famous radiologist, Dr. Mildred Scheel, is conspicuous in its absence.

The wife of the former Bonn president Walter Scheel prefers to stick to the more conservative methods, even though her cancer aid is certainly not just limited to the application of X-rays.

Also missing is the name of Dr. Veronica Carstens, the wife of President Karl Carstens, a lady who has very broad-minded ideas in the fields of medicine and science. She is convinced for example of the effects of the earth's own rays.

Frau Carstens has primarily dedicated her activities towards the field of multiple sclerosis, which also needed V.I.P. patronage.

The society's new president has emphasised that it does not seek confrontation with the school of "orthodox medicine".

No-one really knows what the latter is anyway, and apart from the fact that outsiders would seem to like nothing more than to be welcomed back into its bosom there's not much to go on in the way of clear critieria for definition.

The society's intention is, in the words of Landsberger, "to extend conventional therapeutic methods (operation, chemotherapy and hormone treatment) by introducing biological methods, to provide an additional aid to persons suffering from cancer, particularly in cases where radiotherapy, chemotherapy or hormone therapy are not or no longer possible."

Landsberger feels that even at this stage many people could be helped by biological methods or preparations.

However, he admits that the surgeon is still essential and is likely to remain so for some time.

Radiation and chemotherapy are, depending on the type of tumour and how far it has spread, "essential complementary of even primary methods".

This is fully accepted by the society, which nevertheless regards "biological preparations and methods" as useful as part of an additional therapy.

The fascination for the Greek *bios* (= life) and the Latin *natura* (= that which has evolved from within itself) is, in today's industrial society, one of the major reasons for commercial success when it comes to dissociating oneself from "artificial", "synthetic" or "chemical" products. Medicine is no exception. On the other hand, it may seem paradoxical that the highly effective cytostatic (= checks cell growth) chemotherapy makes use of Samuel Hahnemann's old homoeopathic principle: similia similibus curentur! (= like must be used to treat like).

Cytostatics used to fight cancer can in some cases lead to cancer themselves; the same applies to X-rays.

The radiation risk can be kept down to a minimum by careful procedure and avoiding unnecessary use of X-rays.

In the case of mammography, for example, there is hardly any risk involved, whereas the benefit of early therapy is considerable.

This was again clearly underlined recently during an international symposium held in Munich on the treatment of the small cancer of the breast.

Excessive and in many cases superfluous follow-up radiotherapy or chemotherapy can often, particularly if the doctor does not master these methods, bring about more damage than benefit.

The body's normal resistance is adversely interfered with.

For the doctors who side with the Society for Biological Cancer Prevention and who often more or less belong to sectarian groups this is a uniting factor.

They are primarily concerned with immunological questions in connection with the body's own resistance against cancer.

Josef Issels, the "cancer doctor from the *Tegernsee"* had his own ideas; he may have helped some but made others feel unsure.

Efforts to develop an immunisation therapy with the so-called BCG (tuberculosis) serum are of the same nature.

The French doctor Georges Mathé used such "immunising therapeutics", the origin of which is surrounded in secrecy, and is claimed to have cured several cancers.

However, due to a lack of exact data this has never been scientifically proven.

Enzymes, extracts from the thymus gland, mistletoe preparations and other plants have also been employed for similar purposes.

The scientific evaluation of the actual or alleged cures effected has up to now always been disputed.

The advocates of the "biological approach" have never really approved of the patient collectives drawn up by clinical pharmacologists on a quantitiative and statistical basis and in line with random criteria.

Now, however, Landsberger has announced that there will be "clinical studies", for example on the value of "biological back-up therapy" for radiotherapy and chemotherapy.

The term "controlled" has been omitted in this respect, which may put the clinical pharmacologists off such a venture.

A further project will concentrate on those patients who at the time the operation was carried out showed no signs of secondary growths.

Landsberger on this point: "When the operation is carried out, micrometastasis already exists in a high percentage of cases.

"Here, the prophylactic chemotherapy has not brought about the desired success ... A prophylaxis should be tried out using certain biological preparations."

What is more, the society has resolved to do something which is already being practised by regional cancer aid societies, treatment centres and study-groups supported by the Cancer Aid Fund: co-operation with family doctors, self-help groups and after-care clinics.

The scientific basis for the "biological methods" is a slender one.

However, as herbal pharmacist Hildebert Wagner, who recently reported on proven effects of immunisation stimulation with the aid of fungus-based substances during the "First General Conference of Pharmaceutical Scientists" in Munich, points out, the approach adopted by such concepts is correct.

The possibilities of immunisation sti-

Continued on page 14

During the seventies research into the parent-child relationship began to focus more and more of its attention on the importance of the father in the child's development.

It was discovered that fathers can be very successful "mothers" and that the children develop a close relationship to their father at an early age.

In fact, the behaviour shown by both parents towards the child is characterised by greater similarities than differences.

Again and again it has been confirmed that the behaviour of the father, in its complementarity to that of the mother in certain fields, is irreplaceable for the child's development.

There has been a definite shift in society's image of what a father should be like.

Today, fathers have more opportunity to establish a closer relationship to their children and if the mothers go out to work, which is the case for one in two mothers of children who go to school, they look after the children to a much greater extent than in days gone by.

Not only do they take care of them, but there is increased bodily contact.

Wassilios E. Fthenakis, a doctor, and Renate Niesel and Hans-Rainer Kunze, both qualified psychologists at the Institute for Educational Research on Early Childhood in Munich, decided to carry out a detailed investigation into the role of the father in the child's development.

The father already becomes an important figure during pregnancy and birth, for the more sensitively he reacts to the pregnancy, the easier it is for the mother to adapt herself to the situation.

The fears the mother may have when she is in labour and during the actual birth can be calmed by the father's support.

However, it is still not clear whether the father's presence at birth makes it easier for him to get on with the child later on or whether the father who decides to witness the birth himself can be classed as a "good father".

■ CHILDREN

Discovery: father is quite a good mother

According to recent estimates, between 60 and 80 per cent of 'first-time' fathers decide to be present at birth.

If given the opportunity, fathers are just as willing and able to care for the newly-born child as are mothers.

A large number of studies on fathers, mothers and their newly-born children, carried out in the hospital during the first few days following the birth, have revealed that fathers behave the same way as mothers towards their children.

In fact, if both parents are present, the fathers devote more attention to the child than mothers.

Mothers certainly did better on one score: they smiled more often.

If left on their own with the child, both mother and father smiled a little less often and did not "question" the child as much as when both parents were together.

It was also observed that the nature and the extent of dissimilarities between motherly and fatherly patterns of behaviour changed after birth.

After three months, fathers were found to smile almost as much as mothers during their stay in the hospital, whereas after three weeks the latter touched the child's arms and legs more often than the fathers, who had done this more often in the clinic.

In the opinion of the scientists, it would appear that the parents learn a great deal from one another through the care, attention and stimulation they both give to their child.

Research findings would suggest that there are indeed greater similarities than differences in the behaviour shown by fathers and mothers towards their children, whether in their respective reactions to the child's screaming or in the nature and frequency of bodily contact.

This certainly contradicts previous assumptions.

Feeding would still seem to be Mum's job, and mothers pick up the child and hold it in their arms more often than fathers do, even if the child does not explicitly cry out for attention.

Mothers "talk" more to their babies, whereas fathers are more keen on visual stimulation, such as imitating the child's facial expression, for example.

An important difference, which has been confirmed by many studies on children between the ages of eight and thirty months, is the way in which mothers and fathers play with their children, an area in which there would yet again appear to be an outstanding complementarity.

When the father plays with the child, the emphasis is on physical activities, games in which there is plenty of movement and bodily contact.

Mothers use toys a lot more and "playfully" talk to their children.

It is also interesting to note that boys and girls receive their intellectual stimulation from different games.

The intellectual development of the girls seems to be more linked to the language-based and intellectual stimuli from both the mother and the father, whereas the boys receive more intellectual stimuli from the father and are involved in more physical contact when playing with their fathers and mothers.

A further interesting finding is that the boys were more independent in
cases where both parents [...]
in a loving and warm-hearted [...]

In the girls' cases, more [...]
required: they were more ind[...]
and sociable in the community [...]
of mother and father had [...]
warm-hearted and compassion[...]
the father had demanded such [...]
dence at an early age.

The widespread assumption [...]
mother is the first, and indeed [...]
person to whom the small chi[...]
has also been proved wrong.

Most studies would suggest [...]
dren develop a bond to both [...]
which is shown among other [...]
the fact that children aged be[...]
and 21 months protest just [...]
about being separated from [...]
thers as from their mothers.

In addition, studies indicate [...]
basis for the emergence of a b[...]
tionship is formed much ear[...]
during the second half of the [...]
first year of life.

The preference shown by [...]
their fathers during the second [...]
the fact that 20-month old chi[...]
fer to be held by the father tha[...]
mother results, say the scientis[...]
the way the father plays with [...]
dren.

Finally, the importance of [...]
for the child's development is [...]
ed by the effects of his absen[...]
child, with the exact nature of [...]
fects depending on the speci[...]
for this absence.

The most detrimental effec[...]
child, i.e. on the developme[...]
mental abilities, are brough[...]
the father is absent due to div[...]
opposed to absence caused by [...]
gations or the death of the fath[...]

This absence is all the m[...]
mental, the earlier is occu[...]
child's live. The larger the si[...]
mily, the more pronounced [...]
mental effects.

Renate I. [...]

(Lübecker Nachrichten, [...])

Continued from page 13

mulation for treating cancer should be used in a "complementary and adjuvant (supportive)" way.

However, it's still early days for this particular field. Wagner therefore believes that such research projects should also be encouraged.

On no account, however, should the general impression be created that "all is needed is to live a more healthy life, change food habits and swallow a few herbal extracts to fight or even cure cancer in future."

The circle of scientists, practicians and laymen who in principle stand behind the aims pursued by the *Gesellschaft für biologische Krebsabwehr* is a most heterogeneous one and it is still not certain to what extent agreement can be reached on which projects ought to be backed.

The politicians in the previous SPD/FDP coalition government were also aware of such "alternative" approaches to this problem.

However, a special work-group dealing with "unconventional methods for fighting cancer", set up as part of a "General Programme for Fighting Cancer", has not had much success in finding projects worth supporting.

A commission set up by the German Cancer Prevention Society is in addition taking a closer look at "cancer medicines of doubtful effectiveness".

It sets out to "compile a list of commonly used medicines, the positive effect of which, however, in the treatment of cancer has not or not conclusively been established, as well as a list of the existing experimental and clinical research findings in each case."

Radiologist Karlheinz Renner from Hanover, who favours the classical methods of treating cancer, was most trenchant in stressing his intention of seeking "a link" to orthodox medicine and not "confrontation".

In his opinion, the intended complementary methods of treatment aimed at boosting the body's own resistance provide an opportunity for removing the stigma surrounding cancer.

As Renner points out, this impression has been created by the media and overamphasised.

Many cancer victims can today be completely cured of their illness, the "survival period" for this disease is very often much longer than in the case of other diseases which are not marked by the fatal odour of "malignancy".

In selecting its projects, the Society's scientific advisory board will base its decisions on generally accepted scientific criteria.

The board's Secretary Renner does not want to see the emergence of any kind of competition to the *Deutsche Krebshilfe* or other organisations.

Wilhelm Girstenbrey

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 April 1983)

The pill puts headmasters' careers in jeopardy

The birth-rate slump caused by the increased use of the contraceptive pill in the Federal Republic of Germany will leave many a grammer-school principal without the very basis of his existence: pupils.

Many schools are now making adventurous moves to make sure that their schools are not closed down by the education authorities due to the lack of newcomers.

Some are drumming up support by putting forward educational arguments, others by simply laying on the coffee and cake.

It would be all too easy to dismiss all this with a smile, for after all no-one has any objections to more competition in schools.

And parents are free to choose which grammar school to send their children to: the one which holds promise of the best standards or the one which has its own private beach on the island of Sylt.

However, the dangers are more deeply-rooted.

These new problems facing grammar schools as a result of the drop in the number of pupils may well cause the kind of damage similar to the changes in the quality of German secondary schools brought about by the educational reforms during the sixties.

Teachers complain more and more about the fact that some of the children
now entering grammar scho[...]
standards which would have p[...]
their acceptance in such schoo[...]
years ago.

Along with the drop in s[...]
caused by the quantitatively [...]
educational policies, which led [...]
of *Abiturienten* (pupils who ha[...]
ed the final examination in the [...]
mar school and subsequently [...]
right to enter university), we [...]
faced by an additional drop [...]
dards due to the lack of pupils.

For a glance by the principals [...]
own school's capacity utilisa[...]
lead to another reduction in [...]
mands made on pupils, in an [...]
get through as many pupils as [...]
up until final examination stage.

And yet, the drop in the b[...]
provides the educationalists w[...]
opportunities.

After the many years [...]
schools received substantial [...]
additional money, a stagnation [...]
respect and also a decline in [...]
ber of pupils could lead to ed[...]
and thus standard-related [...]
ments in Germany's grammar [...]

Those responsible are called [...]
beware of further quality losses [...]
which we just cannot afford if we [...]
remain an internationally com[...]
industrial nations.

Peter P[...]

(Die Welt, 21 Ap[...])

[...]evention of war is the main de-
[...]and made by Roman Catholic
[...] in the Federal Republic of Ger-
[...] in a peace policy paper published
[...]onn.

[...]s the yardstick by which military
[...]egy and armament should be judg-
[...]he bishops say in a document en-
[...] Justice Makes Peace.

[...]tails were outlined to the Press by
[...]inal Höffner of Munich, who said
[...]nd his fellow-bishops felt the nu-
[...] deterrent was not, in the long
[...] a reliable means of preventing
[...].

[...]fence was permissible but by no
[...]s merely a matter of military pre-
[...]dness and capability, while the nu-
[...] deterrent could only be tolerated
[...]e strict understanding that:
[...] the aim of deterrence was to pre-
[...]war, political and military leaders
[...] be able to explain how such a stra-
[...]was to succeed in preventing war;
[...]his intention was credibly apparent
[...] the choice of armaments as a
[...]e;
[...]nd the possible repercussions of
[...]egic and tactical planning and of
[...]on systems on the other side's se-
[...]y policy were taken into considera-

[...]y deterrent strategy that departed
[...] the aim of preventing war war-
[...]ed outright condemnation.

[...]he bishops list three criteria with
[...]ch the deterrent must comply to jus-
[...]the threat of deploying nuclear wea-
[...]s as part of a war prevention strat-

[...]ilitary options both existing and
[...]ned must make war neither easier
[...]age nor more probable;
[...]only as many weapons may be de-
[...]yed as are needed for deterrence to
[...]*vent war* (and no more);
[...]nd all must be reconcilable with ef-
[...]ve mutual arms limitation, arms re-
[...]ion and disarmament.

[...]he bishops feel peace and freedom
[...] threatened from two quarters, the
[...] being totalitarian systems that dis-
[...]rd basic human rights in their own
[...]eres of influence and might be
[...]pted to use their power to exert
[...]ical influence or for blackmail and
[...]nsion.

[...]he further threat to peace, as they
[...]t, is that of an "arms escalation
[...] enormous stockpiling of nuclear
[...] conventional arms that might one
[...] as many fear, lead to the catastro-
[...]of war."

[...]oth threats must be countered si-
[...]aneously, and mainly by political
[...]s, the bishops write, continuing as
[...]ws:

[...] view of the continued threat
[...] by totalitarian systems the public
[...]alled on to defend a peace govern-

■ MODERN LIVING

Bishops: 'nuclear deterrent no guarantee of peace'

ed by respect of human dignity and of specific freedoms."

Defence was not solely, and not even primarily, a matter of security policy and a military contribution; it called mainly for a constant political, intellectual and moral dispute with the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

Even so, this defence could not, for the time being, dispense with a military contribution.

Advance concessions must be taken into consideration as a means of fostering confidence in international relations, but they must not jeopardise security or legitimate self-interest.

The bishops encourage politicians to make any moves, even the smallest, that might make possible a sensible dialogue in this sector.

To the protest movements they have this to say:

"The internal and external peace of society must not be jeopardised. Democratically legitimated majority decisions that can lay claim to right and justice deserve to be respected by Christians in particular.

"Groups and campaigners who feel political decisions are wrong must constantly consider whether the methods of their objections or protests credibly testify to their Christian desire for peace.

"We appeal to them to choose methods of which they can fairly claim that they will remain non-violent, are committed to the basic values of Basic Law and will not lead to breaches of the law." A relevant point made elsewhere in the paper is that:

"Whether someone really wants to serve the cause of peace or has entirely different aims in mind can be seen from whether he speaks the language of peace or stirs up hatred and contempt for mankind, pursuing egoistic interests."

Rudolf Bauer

(Rheinische Post, 28 April 1983)

Writers meet again to discuss war

No state in central Europe could be defended in a nuclear war, agreed the second Berlin conference of East and West German writers.

But there is less agreement on other issues. In fact the meeting has an interesting background of discord.

Six weeks beforehand, the West German organiser, Bernt Engelmann of Munich, had difficulty in gaining reelection as chairman of the Writers' Association.

He was strongly criticised for the exclusive nature of the first conference, held at an East Berlin hotel in December 1981.

At his association's annual congress he was obliged to practise self-criticism and undertake "to exclude no-one from the peace debate and to set aside personal disputes and controversies."

The second conference, held at the Academy of Arts in West Berlin, provided him with an opportunity of honouring this commitment.

In 1981 he and GDR writer Stephan Hermlin succeeded, on the eve of martial law in Poland, in arranging a peace bid get-together of writers from both German states.

The West was represented by authors such as Günter Grass, Uwe Johnson and Peter Schneider, the East by Hermann Kant, Stefan Heym and Stephan Hermlin.

But it was an exclusive gathering at which, arguably, too much attention was paid to avoiding unpleasant encounters.

Hermann Kant of the GDR Writers' Association did not have to shake hands with Wolf Biermann, and Stephan Hermlin was spared an encounter with another former GDR writer.

On another occasion he had described emigres and expellees from the GDR as being more talented at crime than at writing.

This comment and its initial acceptance by Herr Engelmann triggered the crisis in the West German Writers' Association.

So it was understandable that a number of erstwhile GDR writers who now live in the Federal Republic preferred not to attend the conference despite having been invited.

It was attendance by invitation only again, although this time invitations were sent to ex-GDR writers Sarah Kirsch and Jürgen Fuchs.

Frau Kirsch was a former member of Herr Kant's executive committee, from which she was expelled. Herr Fuchs was a former convict in Jena, which is fast gaining a reputation as the centre of the peace movement in the GDR.

Both publicly announced that they would not be taking part, Fuchs because, he said, it was not open to all and Kirsch because she felt a peace debate in such exclusive surroundings was like an absurd talk show.

Their reasons were understandable but unwarranted as it turned out. The only absurdity at the West Berlin gathering was the assurances given by a number of Soviet delegates that there were no difficulties placed in the way of the peace movement in their country.

Participants from the GDR, even officials such as Hermann Kant, told a different tale. Stephan Hermlin was by no means alone in clearly expressing regret about measures against peace demonstrators in Jena.

Hermann Kant surprised the conference by approving a draft resolution by Günter Grass and Heinrich Albertz that included the declaration of principle that in a nuclear conflict no Central European state could be defended.

This agreement marks a new dimension in the East-West peace debate inasmuch as it clearly contradicts GDR Defence Minister Heinz Hoffmann, who quoted Jürgen Fuchs in declining to attend.

The GDR, General Hoffmann said, did not share the view held even by progressive members of the peace movement, that in the nuclear age a just war was no longer possible.

It did not feel that a nuclear missile war was no longer a continuation of politics and the class struggle but merely a nuclear inferno and the end of the world.

No-one at the Berlin conference spoke in defence of this claim despite personal declarations on behalf of General Hoffmann as a former member of the International Brigades in the Spanish civil war.

If this basis for further talks between German writers is maintained there will have been progress that could have repercussions.

Some have already been agreed. The next meeting is to be held near where Pershing 2 missiles are scheduled to be stationed in the Federal Republic.

At this gathering the writers will be abandoning pretensions to exclusivity in a bid to make their voices heard in the wider context of the West German peace movement.

Hannes Schwenger

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 April 1983)